

Combined with "The New York Communist"

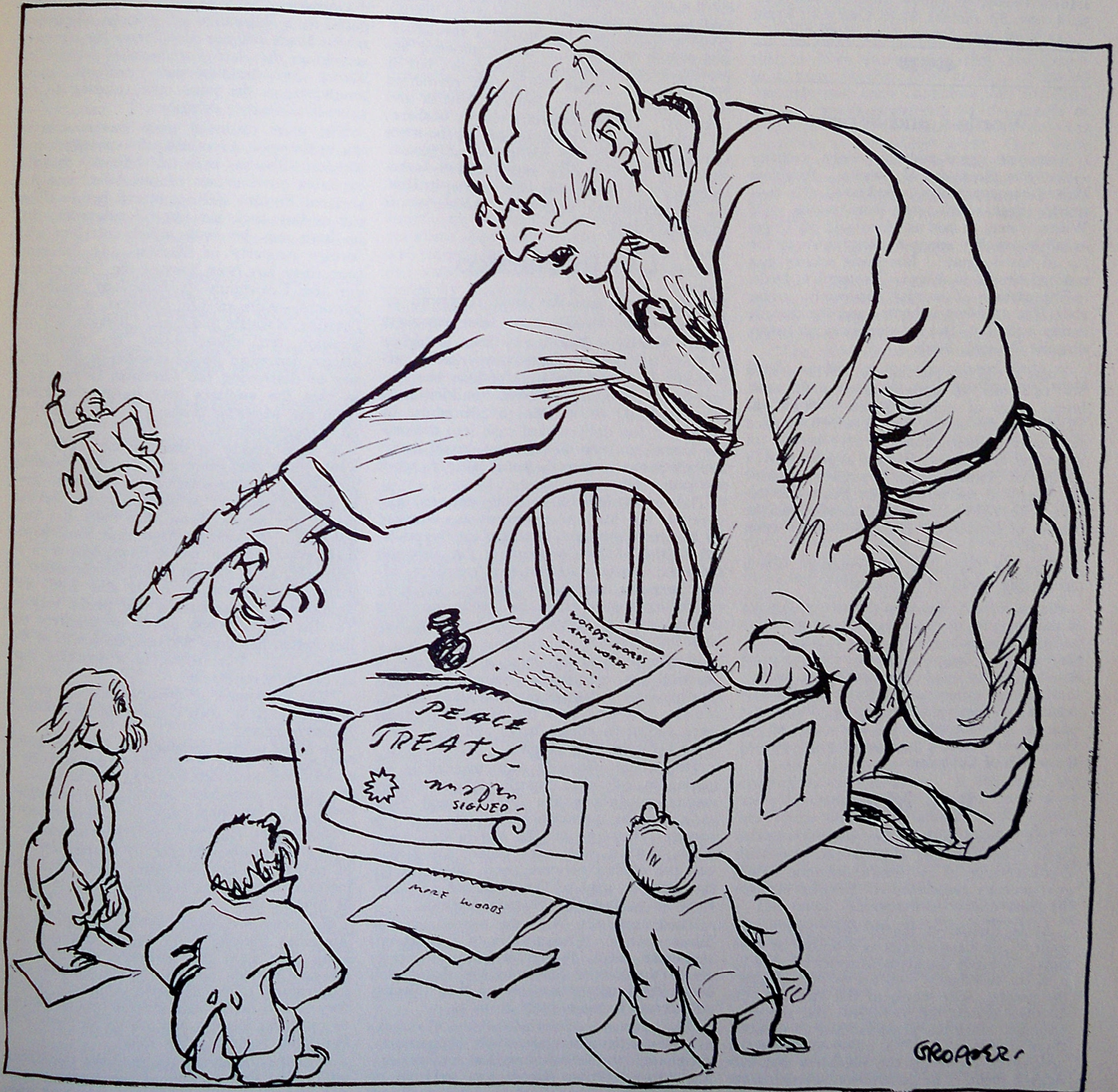
The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

Vol. 2, No. 2.

Saturday, July 12, 1919

Price 5c.



Peace is signed—now for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section
Socialist Party

LOUIS C. FRANA, Editor
EADMONN MACALPINE, Managing Editor

Owned and Controlled by the Left Wing
Section of the Socialist Party

NATIONAL COUNCIL

John Ballam C. E. Ruthenberg
Max Cohen Benjamin Gitlow
James Larkin I. E. Ferguson
Bertram D. Wolfe

I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary

Issued Weekly. B. Gitlow, Business Manager.
5c. a copy. Six months, \$1.50. One year, \$3.00.
43 West 29th Street, New York City.



Words—and Words

AUDACITY, again audacity, more audacity—that was the motto of Danton. President Wilson has apparently paraphrased this to—words, again words, still more words. Of Wilson it may be said as Marx said of Thiers—"all his vitality seems to have flown to the tip of his tongue." Bourgeois society has need of words, to disguise its terrible deeds.

The cascade of words apparently never ends. The president is home—and the cascade comes with him. But his words can no longer disguise Wilson's deeds.

These deeds are reactionary. Wilson used his "14 Points" to argue in favor of the most brutal peace of modern times. Wilson, at Paris, was the screen behind which skulked reaction and international piracy, in all of which he acquiesced. Wilson approves of a League of Nations which strangles the peace and liberty of the world. The Peace Conference, with Wilson at its head, condemned the peoples of Russia and Hungary to starvation and war.

These are the deeds of reaction which answer the words of democracy.

And at home? Reaction dominates. Agents of the government suppress Socialist agitation and try to provoke the workers to acts of futile violence. Congress talks—problems press down upon the people, but nothing is done.

Bourgeois society has performed its historic function of organizing production. Words are now its only contribution. The deeds of the Communist Socialist proletariat must answer the words of Capitalism.

Italy Moves

THE masses in Italy are stirring—that is clear. The depth and width of this movement is still a matter of conjecture, since the Italian government's censorship of news is perhaps the most drastic in the world.

As in Russia, in March 1917, this movement of the masses starts as a series of food riots. It is not the actual scarcity of food as it is the terrifically high prices that inflame the people. The wrath of the starving is directed against the profiteers; and the government, which has protected and encouraged these profiteers, now in order to prevent a revolution, condemns the profiteers and acts against them. The government is using force judiciously and trying to "legalize" the revolt of the people against the food pirates.

But the food riots have ceased being isolated, and are becoming a general class movement. In city after city the masses are assuming control of the food, its prices and distribution; in city after city Soviets—those organs of the masses' revolt—are actually functioning. The movement, unless smothered by trickery of the government, must assume a political character. And the movement is a political character. As in Russia, again, the food developing. As in Russia, again, the food riots arouse strikes: strikes are on in many cities, and a general strike was declared in Naples on Monday. Socialist, union and Soviet organizations are usurping municipal functions; soldiers are fraternizing with the workers.

Peace with Germany was signed; and international Capitalism breathed more freely when a new German revolution did not materialize. Now comes the revolt of the Italian masses—which may yet become a revolution. The world revolution does not proceed according to mathematical calculations; but it proceeds. An Italian proletarian revolution would assure action in France, Austria and Germany. The revolutionary temper is there; the acts of the Italian masses are all the more significant considering the proposed general strike—in Italy, France and England—scheduled for July 21 against intervention in Russia. International proletarian solidarity is becoming a fact.

On to Mexico

FOR a long time the great American interests in Mexico have been squealing bloody murder. Theirs has been a regime of forty per cent dividends tempered by revolution. In the blessed days of Diaz business men could buy a copper mine, a million acres of cattle-land, or a tobacco plantation by slipping a few dollars hard cash into the proper hands; and the Government would arrest enough peons to provide penal labor to work the properties.

Then came Revolution, long deferred and overdue. The Madero movement was financed by American interests, in return for the pawning of the Madero properties; but although the great interests did not dare openly to affront popular opinion by frankly opposing revolution, they abetted the bloody murderer Huerta, and were aided by the American Ambassador, Fletcher.

Woodrow Wilson's only experiment in practical, as opposed to verbal, liberalism, was his lofty pedagogical moral stand against Huerta. At that time the financial vultures were forced to cringe back, and wait for a more favorable opportunity.

They could afford to wait, meanwhile engaging in individual guerilla sallies, backing counter-revolutions like Orozco's and Salazar's and the unremitting attempts of the younger Diaz and his ilk, and in the meanwhile, battling with each other; for behind the gigantic feud of the Standard Oil interests as against the Pearson interests.

Then came the War, the opportunity for all scoundrels. Under cover of the nation's desperate needs, the great business pirates seized the United States by the throat, and becoming finally conscious of their identity of interest, began to hunt in packs.

The approach of the end of the War gave the American plutocrats their opportunity. The munitions factories needed another war; the Army, millions strong, was suddenly released upon a labor market unable to absorb it, creating dangerous hordes of idle men;

and the closing of foreign markets by Revolution made it of vital importance that American manufacturers have new worlds to exploit.

It was just at this critical time that the Carranza Government adopted the new Mexican Constitution of 1917, which embodied the objects for which the Revolution had been fought: redistribution of landed estates, heavy taxation of foreign concessions and properties, and the announcement of Mexico's right of Eminent Domain over natural resources—in other words, Mexico for the Mexicans, instead of for the foreigners.

The United States Government immediately warned the Mexican Government that it would view as an "unfriendly act" such "confiscation" of American property. And when the Peace Council assembled in Paris, the American State Department granted passports to a delegation of private oil-pirates, whose hands still ran blood from the counter-revolution they had just launched from Wall Street. And the diplomats received these gentlemen, at the same time refusing to receive the Mexican delegate.

The great capitalist press has now come out in the open, advocating the subjugation of Mexico. She has been told officially that the capitalist governments of the Allied and Associated Powers will not permit her to either tax or buy back her natural resources; that no laws may be made which interfere with foreign property in Mexico. At the same time there has been formed the "Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico"—with an Oil Division, a Minerals Division, a Cattle and Land Division, a Press Division, etc., whose object is frankly to arouse American public opinion to the necessity of destroying the Carranza Government, so that the vultures may gorge themselves upon the Mexican peons, as they have done all through history.

A page article in the Sunday Times last week gives the game away. Its headline announces in enormous type the damage done to foreign property in Mexico by the Revolution. The figures show that there has been invested in Mexico by Americans some \$650,000,000—of which about \$150,000,000 is in railroads, \$200,000,000 in oil, \$200,000,000 in mines, \$50,000,000 in cattle and land, and \$50,000,000 in industrials and public service. To this \$650,000,000 worth of property the Revolution has done \$80,000,000 worth of damage. . . . But below, in a separate line, occurs this statement:

"The investment of \$650,000,000 has grown in value until in 1910 it was said to be worth \$2,000,000,000."

In other words, compare the loss and gain:
Value in 1910.....\$2,000,000,000

Gain	\$1,350,000,000
Damage	80,000,000
Sheer Net Gain	\$1,270,000,000

The investment figures, of course, are not of today, but of nine years ago. What the increase in value has been since then, can only be guessed at.

But what is a paltry billion or two to the American plunderbund? They want the billions, they want the property tax-free, and law-free besides, and they want the Mexican Government to pay damages, moreover, before they kick it finally and forever into the pages of capitalist history, and set up an American industrial satrapy in its stead.

Will they be able to do this? We think they will. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is now the only force which can cope with capitalist Imperialism on the rampage.

The "14 Points"

IT is indisputable that the peace imposed upon Germany is not in accord with the "14 points" formulated by President Wilson. The projected terms, which Germany accepted as a basis for peace in concluding the armistice, have been violated in practically every particular. This fact has aroused the scorn and invective of even ordinary bourgeois liberals, who lament bitterly Wilson's "treason to his ideals." But the invective and the sarcasm invoked by the collapse of the "14 points", while justifiable, by no means touch the heart of the problem.

The liberal petty bourgeois democracy, while compelled to accept Imperialism, struggles in a tragi-comic way against the consequences and "excesses" of Imperialism. It willingly acquiesces in the waging of a predatory war, comforting itself with illusions; and then it protests against a predatory peace, confronting itself with the illusion that a "just peace" is realizable under the conditions of Imperialism. The petty bourgeois democracy protests against these "excesses" of Imperialism, while rejecting the revolutionary struggle against Imperialism. The consequences are unavoidable reaction.

The collapse of the "14 points" is not a study in the malignancy of an individual, but a study in the malignancy of social conditions under Capitalism.

Under Imperialism, governments are necessarily imperialistic,—that is to say, organized for international conquest and spoliation. An imperialistic government waging a victorious war must necessarily conclude an imperialistic peace,—unless the Socialist proletariat intervenes.

The fact that Imperialism necessarily threatens the independence of nations provides an excellent opportunity for developing a "liberal" ideology for an imperialistic war. This fact was used to the utmost by the European belligerents. The position of the United States made it particularly easy to develop the ideology of a war for democracy, since this country had no territorial interests at stake, making it difficult to connect Imperialism with out entry into war. Out of this circumstance arose the conception of the United States as a disinterested factor in the war and the fraudulent ideology of the "14 points."

But the United States *did* have a direct Imperialistic interest in the war, although this interest was not territorial aggrandizement.

Imperialism is a struggle for world power, a struggle as to which particular national finance-capital shall control the world. The issue in the war was world power. In the case of the European nations this issue assumed an immediately territorial character. But in the case of the United States it did not; it assumed a completely financial character. The war had aggrandized American Capital, until it practically dominated the trade and the investment markets of the world; it had ceased being a debtor nation and become a creditor nation, possessing enormous resources of surplus capital. American Capitalism had invested heavily in a prospective victory for the Allies. A German victory would have practically wiped out this investment and smashed the power of American finance-capital to secure world domination.

At the Peace Conference, it was necessary, in order to protect the investments and the potential world power of the United States, to conserve the financial and territorial interests of the Allies in order that the Allies

might pay. Moreover, the world was divided financially and territorially among the victors, the United States securing financial recognition and recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. The "14 points" accordingly necessarily had to be thrust into that garbage can of diplomacy which contains so many "ideals."

Then there was democracy. Democracy was conceived as the basis of the "14 points"; indeed, the "14 points" were "to make the world safe for democracy." In this again was involved the whole character of the war and the political tendency of Imperialism.

Democracy and Imperialism exclude each other. It excludes bourgeois democracy, that traditional democracy which is the carrier of the bourgeois struggle against feudalism and the political expression of the competitive epoch of Capitalism. The centralization of industry and capital produces a centralization of the power of government; Imperialism transforms political democracy into a factor promoting Imperialism and a government centralization that negates the old democracy of bourgeois society.

Under these conditions the old liberal slogans of democracy come to possess a new meaning. The older democracy implied national independence; the democracy of Imperialism annihilates the independence of nations. The older democracy implied an actual functioning of the parliamentary system; Imperialistic democracy breaks down the system and places practically all power in an executive autocracy. Democracy having been perverted by Imperialism, it becomes a part of Imperialism and the necessary factor in waging a predatory war. This circumstance alone would necessarily produce a collapse of the "14 points," since their basis (in the minds of those seduced by their ideology) lies in a conception of democracy which no longer functions in the Imperialistic epoch of Capitalism.

Another assumption of the "14 points" in contradiction with the actual forces prevailing in the world of Capitalism consists in the concept of realizing national independence for the small peoples of Europe.

The war was not a war for national independence,—except in the case of Serbia. But the moment the war actually started, Serbia's independence disappeared as a factor, and Imperialism dominated, with the small nations as pawns. Belgium itself (as Holland) is rampantly imperialistic.

Oppressed nationalities, such as Poland, have secured "independence." But they are not independent, being vassals of international finance-capital.

Moreover, the real struggle in these nationalities is a *social* struggle—the struggle of the masses to end Capitalism and class rule. This was true before the war—the political revolutions in Mexico and China developed *economic* aspects, assumed the character of *social* revolution. This *social* revolutionary tendency conquered in Russia, and is trying to conquer in other nations.

National independence breaks down—either under the domination of Imperialism, or under the impact of the international proletarian revolution. The ideology of the "14 points" necessarily promote Imperialism and reaction.

The final futility of the "14 points" is the alliance between France, Great Britain and Italy—which is the final proof of the futility of the League of Nations.

As against the corrupt ideology of the "14 points" and bourgeois democracy, the proletariat must oppose the aggressive struggle for Socialism.

The Communist Party

THE development of the American movement is directly toward the organization of a Communist Party. The tactical aspect—whether it shall emerge out of a transformation of the Socialist Party, or as a completely new party—is determined by events; the important thing is that there *must* and *will* be an American Communist Party.

The adoption of the name "Communist Party" is not determined by sentiment, but by objective facts.

Socialism, the dominant Socialism, has broken down miserably under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution. It has, in fact, become the last bulwark of defense of Capitalism. We must break away from this movement and its stigma.

Lenin says:

"The term 'Social Democracy' is unscientific, as Marx explained in 1875, and Engels in a more popular form in 1894. Mankind can only pass from Capitalism into Socialism, that is, public ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to individual work. Our party looks farther ahead than that: Socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism, whose banner bears the motto: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

"That is the first reason. Here is my second:

"The second part of the term 'Social Democracy' is scientifically wrong. Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority. . . .

"The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party . . . democracy is simply a shackle fastened upon the revolutionary nation."

In answering the objection that the workers are accustomed to the old name, Lenin says: "This reason is based solely on laziness and love of routine. We want to recast the world. And here we are hesitating. Here we are keeping on our backs the same old dirty shirt! It is high time we should cast off the dirty shirt and put on a new, clean one."

The American Socialist Party has familiarized the masses with certain phrases of Socialism. But it has equally familiarized the masses with a false conception of Socialism.

The Socialist Party means, to the workers, parliamentary action as the means to realize Socialism; it means government ownership of industry; it means co-operation with the middle class; it means bolstering trades unionism and sabotaging revolutionary industrial unionism; it means, fundamentally, a non-proletarian program and policy.

Names may mean much, or nothing—according to circumstances. In this case, the name "Communist Party" means much, since our prime task is to familiarize the masses with a revolutionary conception of Socialism totally antagonistic to the official Socialist Party. To use the old name is to confuse the issue and hamper our task.

The name "Communist Party" would fire the imagination and develop new energy in the revolutionary comrades. It would come to the masses new, clean, virile, with a proletarian message necessarily evoking a proletarian response.

More—the name Communist Party is necessary to make clear the issue. There must be no compromise. There must be no opportunity to mix Laborism with Socialism. There must be an implacable determination to rally revolutionary elements alone in our party.

Here and There

ALTHOUGH many people are disappointed in the work of the Peace Conference, and particularly in the part played by Mr. Wilson, it ought not to be forgotten that he has made an important contribution to the cause of internationalism. When in 1916 Mr. Wilson sought re-election to the presidential chair, his managers hit upon a slogan that undoubtedly did much towards accomplishing the desired result. "He kept us out of war"—the boardings screamed. And the electorate who thought war was a pretty good thing to be kept out of, not having been bullied by the Espionage Act, the National Security League and the American Defense Society, promptly voted Mr. Wilson into office.

When the Germans had made up their minds that if they were beaten in the war they would be skinned alive and were preparing to continue fighting at all costs, Mr. Wilson wrote a note in which he mentioned fourteen points as a basis upon which peace might be concluded. The German people, like the American electorate of 1916, thinking that peace was a very desirable thing, provided it wasn't to be accompanied by the skinning process, promptly offered to conclude peace on these same fourteen points.

Today the Germans know exactly what the Americans who voted to be kept out of war felt like in April 1917, while these Americans have a pretty fair idea of how the Germans feel about signing the peace. And after all, what is internationalism but the ability of one people to understand and sympathize with the peoples of other countries?

The bourgeois press is jubilant over what it terms "the failure of the Mooney strike." According to reports only a few thousand workers in Seattle, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago and several other large centers have translated their words into action. The A. F. of L. is given due credit for the failure. However, all is not so rosy as the papers try to make it appear. There is a biblical story to the effect that if the Lord had been able to find one righteous person he would have saved the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. It appears that even at the lowest estimate there are several thousand workers in this country who are willing to undergo the rigors of a strike because they recognize the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all" and this would work out at more than one for each city in the United States. At least the idea of striking for something else than a raise in wages has been widely propagated and the idea that the errors of capitalist "justice" can be corrected in the work-shop is gaining ground.

We understand that though Samuel Gompers feels that he has gained a victory, still he is not elated. Perhaps Sammy has heard the farmers say that one rotten apple will spoil a whole barrelful.

The decision of the Allies that "it is impossible to make peace with the Hungarian Soviet Government" is noteworthy only insofar as it helps to clarify the issue between Imperialism and the world proletariat. After the debacle over the Russian question which ended in the evasion of the entire issue by the semi-recognition of Kolchak, which pleased nobody except a few monarchic adventurers, it began to appear that the Entente "statesmen" were incapable of handling the situation.

Adrift in the sea of revolution on the leaking craft of democracy, the Allied rulers have concentrated all their energies on trying to keep off the rocks of Soviet recognition only to find themselves caught in the shifting sands of defeated monarchy, consequently they have decided that they will semi-officially recognize their position while they turn their eyes towards dry land and pretend that they are quite safe. The rulers of the Entente went to Paris to make peace. Making peace naturally means coming to an understanding with the other nations of the earth. The people of the Entente countries expect that their rulers will arrive at such understanding. This was one of the reasons they made a deal with Kolchak; Kolchak can always be put forward as Russia to the masses who do not examine the situation carefully. But what is going to be done about Hungary? The Allies dare not recognize the Communists and so far no monarchist adventurer has set up a "government". So the "statesmen" must go home without recognizing Hungary at all, without coming to any understanding, without doing what they were sent to Paris for, without making peace.

They were unable to deal with Hungary—there is no peace. Some of the workers are bound to ask why. Surely there must be a Kolchak in Hungary to befuddle the issue, surely Bela Kun has not shot all the aspirants to the throne?

The fourth of July could hardly be called a Glorious Fourth by the super-patriots. In Detroit, Boston, Seattle, Chicago, New York, in fact all over the country, the self-appointed guardians of the nation's safety were all fired up with a heroic sense of duty. They had been armed with nice new guns, bright badges and in some places they even went to the expense of buying lovely military looking uniforms, lots of the more dutiful, we are credibly informed, stayed up all night polishing the old hand grenades, oiling the trusty machine guns, and cranking the tanks; all for the purpose of wiping out the hated "reds" and out-bombing the "bomb plotters".

Early on the morning of the Fourth the tramp of marching men resounded all over the country. Orders were given, little bands of devoted heroes were marched out to protect the town clock, the village pump, the little red school-house and the bosses' works. The bursting of a Ford tire caused countless thousands to grasp their rifles tighter, while the explosion of a giant cracker threw machine gun companies in such a flurry of haste that they invariably jammed the belt. And at the end of the day not a single bomb burst throughout the length and breadth of the country. The "reds" didn't even attempt to set up so much as a village Soviet.

Taking it all in all, the Fourth was a failure from the American Defence Society point of view, and as a result the feeling is stronger than ever against the "reds". The revolution didn't take place and nobody is satisfied.

Send all editorial and business correspondence to our new address:

**43 West 29th Street
New York**

Bolshevikjabs

THE Fourth of July has come and gone and as far as we have heard nothing seems to have gone off except the usual number of fire-crackers—it's a good job the newspapers scared the bomb plotters. Or can the papers have erred?

It seems as if the whole matter was a "put up job" to do the cops out of a holiday.

And talking about the Fourth of July—Tom Mooney is still in jail.

We were talking to an Irishman the other day who said he'd feel a lot surer of Irish Freedom if the A. F. of L. had got Mooney out of San Quentin.

Now that the war is over humanity is becoming sane again, the world is sick of bloodshed—40,000 people paid enormous sums to see the Toledo prize fight.

England is now demanding that the ex-Kaiser be tried—for loosing the war.

Apparently poor old England hopes to keep the war feeling up long enough to get over the present revolutionary period. This is a bad sign. English diplomacy is losing its cunning else it would know that if trying the ex-Kaiser could avert revolution, there is really no need to try him.

According to the newspapers Italy has cut the food prices in half as a result of the riots. Now the Italians know what to do; if a few riots bring down prices by fifty per cent what would a revolution do?

It would appear to be about time that the Italian government started another rumpus about Fiume.

If the Italians plump for the Soviets will they be German agents? Perhaps they'll just be "a bunch of dirty dagos" the same as they were before they got the coal.

From reading the examination of some of the witnesses in the Henry Ford case it would appear that Clemenceau, Wilson, Jesus Christ and Tolstoy were all the same—but then the dead can't bring libel suits.

Now that the first of July has gone we wonder who will expel the rest of the Socialist Party?

It really was a piece of shortsightedness on the part of the old N. E. C. not to have expelled at least half of the remaining quarter of the organization before June 30.

Bela Kun's wife arrived at the Swiss border with a large sum of money the other day but was not allowed to cross the frontier, according to a dispatch from Geneva. We are glad to see the Swiss taking a firm stand against the glob-trotting proclivities of the wives of Soviet ministers, but after all perhaps Mrs. Kun merely wanted to visit Trotsky's wife for the purpose of showing that her husband was doing pretty well also.

A Call From Hungary

Hungarian Socialists Appeal to the Entente Workers

WORKERS of the "entente" countries!

The masks have fallen from the faces of your governments. They are trying to end this war with the most violent, imperialistic peace that the world has ever seen,—that same war into which they drove you in the name of democracy, and your burdensome lives in order that the German people should fall under economic oppression, in order that the power and wealth of your capitalists should increase to infinity, and in order that that power, erected on oppression and extortion, on blood and iron, should be let loose over the entire world.

All your hopes for a better and happier future to follow as a result of the victory of the Western European nations over the militarism and Imperialism of Germany, were treacherously deceived, all promises given to you were lies in the mouths of your masters who were urging you to bend all your energies to the extreme in order to attain that victory which never had and never could have any other purpose than the erection, on the ruins of German Imperialism, of the world mastery of the bourgeoisie of the entente powers, though the consequences might mean the annihilation of whole peoples and of all civilization.

But these acts do not constitute the full extent of the crimes of the capitalists. Ever since they finished the war of nations, the capitalists began a new war, a struggle with a new enemy who threatened to deprive them of the fruits of victory. They started to war against the revolution of the international working class, which first broke out in Russia, struck off the chains of Russian Capitalism, and laid the foundation for the supremacy of labor, under which there are neither plunderers nor plundered. Your bourgeoisie united with its worst enemy, the German bourgeoisie, in order that they might together fall on the new working class Russia, take possession of its richest provinces, plunder them, and, as far as possible, destroy the conquests of the revolution and, with the help of the Russian plunderers, establish anew the reign of rapacious exploitation. The German Imperialism, victorious over the Czar's army, and driving its followers far into Russia, was then the chief enemy of Soviet Russia. But afterwards, being tied up on the west by hostile armies, Germany could not attack working class Russia with its full force. The attempts of your bourgeoisie in equipping military expeditions into Siberia, Archangel, and the Caucasus—expeditions which did not develop on a large scale as merely the effect of independent causes—were also directed at using all their strength to form one strong imperialistic ring.

Now the situation is different. The war of nations has ended in the complete victory of one group, that of your bourgeoisie. It has driven its rival forever away from the world market and is getting ready to throw all its strength against the enemy which up to now has heroically stood against the onslaughts of the imperialists. It is trying to suppress the international revolution that started in Russia, in spite of the great difficulty and the

(Translated by W. J. SMITH)

enormous sacrifice, and recently entered a new struggle against Hungary. In spite of all the insincere assurances given to your representatives in the parliaments, that no more troops would be sent into Russia, your governments are ready to continue their counter-revolutionary expeditions on a large scale. Your governments are now planning to take possession of the heart of the Russian revolution, Petrograd, and the Finnish White Guard, which for a year with the help of imperialist Germany stamped out the Finnish revolution in a sea of blood, is now going to support your governments.

Your bourgeoisie is inciting the Rumanians and Czechs against the revolution of the working class in Hungary, which, for some two months, has taken the power into its own hands and has already nationalized the large estates, banks, factories, and dwellings and has thus given the workers the opportunity of getting out of the clutches of Capitalism. Thus your bourgeoisie is trying to stamp out the second working class island rising out of the trackless ocean of Capitalism.

Comrades, your bourgeoisie declares that Bolshevism has doomed Russia to famine and disorganization and is threatening the whole world with the same misfortune. True, there is terrible famine in Petrograd, the transportation system of the whole country is broken down, industrial life is choked off in most parts. But if, in spite of all efforts, the Bolsheviks are not in a position to organize their production, who should be responsible for that except your own governments who reduce the working class of Russia to want by their military invasion, who divert the best part of their youth into a struggle with the enemy, who by a blockade and economic isolation have made the work of building up the country on Socialist foundations difficult if not altogether impossible?

Comrades, the Russian and Hungarian workers cannot try for a victory of the revolution either alone or even if the German working class comes to their aid, formerly the strongest part of the international working class, but now weakened by their own bourgeoisie and by the economic ruin of their country. Now, when your bourgeoisie has reached the height of its power and is preparing on its side to catch the whole world in the claws of its militarism, there is only one power that can bring the Russian, Hungarian, and international revolution to victory. And this sole power is yourselves, workers of the Allied countries. On you, comrades, lies the heavy responsibility of the future of the workers' revolution, which is at the same time the future of all humanity; your sacred obligation, your historic problem, must be to lift the terrible burden of Allied Capitalism from the oppressed, hungering peoples, to save the revolutions in the east which are in danger, and to prepare for the victory of Socialism over the whole world, and for this purpose you must overthrow your governments and take the power into your own hands.

Comrades! When German Imperialism, in

the heat of a victorious struggle in January, 1918, was preparing to settle its domination on Eastern Europe over the fallen body of the Russian revolution, millions of workers in Germany, Austria, and Hungary declared a political strike. It was not then given to them to break the mighty imperial machine, and their uprising was put down by the army. But the edifice of capitalist Germany began to totter, and they thus took the first step towards the November revolution which did not lead to any Brest-Litovsk treaty. They saved the honor of the working class of Germany, Austria, and Hungary, which had been so basely deceived by its leaders. Now it depends on you, comrades, to do the same. It is not sufficient for your representatives in parliament to refuse to vote credits; their votes will be beaten by the bourgeois majority. It is not sufficient for you to protest at meetings; your Clemenceaus, Lloyd-Georges, and Orlando will take no notice whatever. You must not wait till you can capture a majority of seats in parliament, for every day that you let pass in vain means death to thousands of workers, the destruction of treasures of civilization, and the sinking of mankind into a waste of capitalist anarchy. Every day that you lose in inaction may mean the ending of the working class revolution in Russia or Hungary, imposition of capitalist slavery for whole decades, or, if Capitalism cannot get over its military policy of destruction, also the destruction of European civilization and a return to barbarism.

The eyes of the struggling, suffering, and constructing working class of Eastern Europe are turned towards you. On your revolutionary will, on your revolutionary strength it depends whether this heroic effort of your fellow-workers, struggling also for your freedom, gets results; on this depends your future and that of the working class of the whole world. And for you also peace has not brought prosperity and happiness, but great need and heavier slavery. Every victory of your imperialists against the republic of the working class strengthens the reaction and destroys the last remains of that democracy that appeared as the result of your previous great revolutions.

Show your plunderers action: demonstrations and mass strikes, show that you are ready to take up the mass struggle for Socialism, come to the aid of your brother-workers, to show yourselves worthy of your revolutionary past. Your revolution will also be difficult and demand sacrifices, you also will not conquer at the first attack, but every step you take in the direction of revolution will prepare for the final victory.

Long live the republic of the working class!

Long live the revolution in France, England and Italy!

Long live the revolution of the international working class!

The World Revolution

TO those for whom a revolution is nothing more than an attractive scenic exhibition, the stage of the world revolution has offered very little of interest within the past few weeks. While to those who see in a revolution nothing but disorder and riot, calamity and destruction, the past few weeks have caused endless weeping and lamentation. These two extremes are evidence of the change which is becoming apparent in those countries where revolution is in action—the change from the bourgeois to the proletarian revolution.

The decorative scenic exhibitions are missing—the momentary spell and glamour of bourgeois revolution, if it can be dignified by the name of revolution, has come to an end.

Destruction and disorder continue—the real revolutionists, who were suppressed by the old system, have grown so powerful that they are now able to destroy and crush that which oppressed them.

The revolution in action is disorder and destruction only in the eyes of an anti-revolutionist. It creates dissatisfaction only in the brain of an opponent of the revolution. Disorder and destruction are manifest only in comparison with the conditions existing prior to the revolution, with that order and system which is symbolical of oppression. In the same manner the disorder and destruction are ruinous only to those who idealize the political and sociological conceptions, teachings and system of the old oppressive order. To this extent a revolution is disorderly and destructive. It is in this that the essence of the revolution appears.

That which the bourgeois bewailers regard as the disorder of revolution, in its real significance, is not disorder. In part it is lack of permanent form, in part it is the emergence of the new structure. When the oppressed seek power through revolution, it is axiomatic, that the old order is not the fit instrument for the realization of the new ideas of life to which the revolutionists aspire. The old system must be destroyed and the new one created. During the struggle for the establishment of the new order, intervals occur when established ideals, teachings and system are lacking. Before the new society is stabilized there must of necessity be considerable conflict and frequent change. What the bourgeois bewailers term disorder is in reality the process of evolution from the old to the new, the constructive destruction of the revolutionary period.

To those who are semi-revolutionists it would be well to think these things over. Then they will not resort to the foolish arguments in which we, Finns, once sought consolation. When our bourgeoisie complained of the disorder of the Russian revolution, we consoled ourselves by thinking that it arose out of conditions peculiar to Russia alone, due to the lack of Russian organizing ability. When the Germans, the masters of technique and organization, create a revolution, there will be no disorder, we reasoned. And there was none, any more than there was in Russia. The same conditions existed, indeed no other conditions are possible. Organizing ability has little significance; in the countries where the revolutionary masses have greater ability the new order will be established in shorter time, provided the counter-revolutionary forces are not disproportionately stronger.

The above illustrates the evolutionary stage which the world revolution has reached today

From the Finnish Communist Paper "Vasteti," published at Stockholm.

Translated by O. W. OKSANEN

in Eastern, Central and parts of Southern Europe. The proletarian revolution is progressing in all these parts. In the Balkans, the Baltic States and Poland it is rapidly being moulded for action. In Austria and Germany it is shaping itself and waiting the opportunity to present its formulated plans, to replace the fantastic with the realistic.

A glance at the situation will reveal the struggling proletariat facing victorious Imperialism. The former still disorganized, as yet scarcely sensing international unity and groping for an effective form of international alliance. From the crushed imperialists of the defeated nations, the proletariat has inherited nothing but ruins, ashes and hunger. On the other hand, the victorious imperialists, the war lords of the world, have a firm international alliance, fortified by complex conditions. From

Left Wing Finances

To the readers of *The Revolutionary Age* it is only necessary to say that the Left Wing National Council has no purpose other than to spread and stabilize the propaganda of Socialism which this paper has carried on since last November. There is no immediate basis for this work outside of voluntary contributions by individuals and Party branches. The task between now and August 9th is overwhelming in its complexities and of crucial importance to the future of the revolutionary working class movement in this country. Our appeal for immediate donations should not be passed over unanswered by any reader of *The Revolutionary Age* who can possibly help in this emergency.

The accounting for these funds will appear in this paper.

I. E. FRACUSOR, National Sec'y.

43 West 24th Street, New York City

an economic standpoint the victorious imperialists are in a much stronger position. Though there is destruction and ruin in their territories, yet they control areas having abundance of food.

Between the two forces a conflict, which will determine the outcome of the world revolution, is inevitable. Is it possible that the proletariat will conquer?

When German Imperialism fell, all the conservative elements felt certain that millions of Entente soldiers would be led against the revolutionary proletariat of the different nations. Even the revolutionists everywhere feared that this would be so, though they were confident that the result would be the revolutionizing of the Entente armies. Before this transformation could occur, however, they feared that much injury and suffering would be the portion of the revolutionary proletariat.

But English Imperialism has at its disposal many more clever statesmen than Germany.

The Germans rushed their armies into Finland, the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Poland, and because of their shortsightedness, in this manner hastened the approach of their own destruction. English Imperialism expects to avoid this mistake. It would be ridiculous to maintain that England could not accomplish much harm with her armies wherever she pleased; but it would be bad diplomacy and she therefore desists.

The English diplomats can exercise self-denial when victory requires it and they have the ability to judge the outcome of the future with more or less accuracy; two qualities that the German lords lacked completely.

The imperialistic statesmen of England seem to see clearly that they are standing on the top of a volcano. They seem to be somewhat uncertain as to their ability to prevent an eruption and they are working, first to prevent the outbreak and second to delay it as long as possible. And this is where their prudence is evident.

English industry has been entirely organized on a war basis. Now it must be changed to suit the requirements of peace. The interval caused by the transition has caused much dissatisfaction. Discharged soldiers swell the ranks of the unemployed. Charitable donations are insufficient to relieve the distress. But, it will be asked, has not there been sufficient time to establish industry on a peace basis? Most certainly, but there are other difficulties in the way. Raw materials must be obtained, and markets must be found for the surplus product. It would be possible to confiscate the raw material from the vanquished nations, Germany and Russia. But what about the markets? It will be asked, does not the proletariat need products? True, but they are so exhausted economically that they will not be a good market for England for many years to come. The other entente nations, France and Italy will in all probability not make good markets for England either, as they are faced with the same problem of changing their industries from a war to a peace basis, and in order to avoid disturbances caused by unemployment they also must produce on a large scale. If each of the Entente nations is successful in making this change, then each will be compelled to seek markets outside of the Entente group. The result of this surplus production and capitalist competition will be new antagonisms between the nations of the Entente. Here is cause for more wars—and for revolution.

The English statesmen suspect something of this sort, therefore they are proceeding very carefully, step by step, on the top of the volcano.

English diplomacy has been very successful historically. It does not boast if it calls itself unconquerable, but even it has met its master in the proletariat of the world revolution.

Today a political victory is a Pyrrhic victory. The revolutionary proletariat even in England has deserted its electoral program. There the tide of the general strike rises higher and higher each week; the growth of the revolutionary passion. We hear it murmur like the roar of the distant sea. It is the murmur of revolution, as yet incoherent. The lords, imperialist statesmen, may for a short time continue this incoherence, but it will not be for long. The millions of the English workers march on towards revolution.

So the world revolution moves toward the final stroke. Are you ready, comrades?

The Left Wing Answers

By I. E. Ferguson

MOST of the objections to the Left Wing, offered by the Reformist Socialists, are simply subterfuges to distract from the real issues. But undoubtedly there are some who take these objections seriously, and this stands in the way of their study and understanding of the vital differences between Reformist and Revolutionary Socialism. In order to clear these side-issues out of the way, and to compel the critics of the Left Wing to meet the real issues, we make answer to the most common objections.

Objection: The Left Wing seeks to destroy the unity of the Party on account of a quarrel of phrases.

Answer: The progress of history has exploded a fake unity within the Socialist ranks of all countries. This was a unity of phrases, a unity having no more fundamental basis than agreement on reform politics within the scheme of capitalist democracy. Beyond this, some of the phrases of the class struggle, and more or less insistence that the political party of the working class must stand by itself.

The Left Wing seeks to create a real unity on the basis of the true Socialist program, a unity of understanding and of action. Such is the unity of the Communist International, which, however, rigidly excludes all elements not in complete accord with its fundamentals.

The unity which is illusory simply prepares for a separation just at the moment of crisis, as we have already witnessed in Germany, and as we witnessed in 1914 when the parties of the Second International chose to stand with their respective governments rather than with one another.

A change of our party tactics and propaganda according to the requirements of the revolutionary Socialist movement will make the party unsuitable as refuge for various reformist, petty bourgeois, sentimental elements which have hitherto dominated the party. The Left Wing is obnoxious to these elements, and the Left Wing will drive them out of the Socialist Party. Because for all losses of this sort there will be a thousand fold gain from the proletariat, which is rapidly developing revolutionary consciousness but which cannot be expected to regard with respect the programs and performances of a Socialist Party without proletarian consciousness.

* * *

Objection: The Left Wing plays the game of the capitalist enemy by dividing the forces of Socialism on account of tactical matters.

Answer: As already stated, the Left Wing unites the forces of Socialism. It separates these forces from confusing and destructive admixtures, which leave no meaning to Socialism, and which leave no body of men and women ready to engage in any common action—except the game of capitalist politics (in order to make Capitalism more endurable).

The capitalist enemy can only discover in this process that there is real life and a real understanding of the revolutionary implications of the class struggle within the Socialist Party. Of course a Left Wing defeat might be highly acceptable to the capitalists, because it would show them that there is no revolutionary consciousness in the United States even among the members of the Party dedicated to the social revolution. But a Left Wing victory shows the capitalists that the Socialist Party means what it says about the class struggle and the social revolution.

The present opposition to the Left Wing

emphasizes how much the Party gained by casting off some of its social-patriots on account of the adoption of the St. Louis platform. The coming of the Labor Party and the Non-partisan League also is taken as a benefit to the Socialist Party in that it makes clear and emphatic the special mission of the Socialists (or Communists) as "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; having over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

Yet it was the very character of the Socialism which died with the world war of finance-Imperialism that it sought as adherents elements which never could be expected to meet the tests of the class war.

The Left Wing is honest, both in its statements about what Socialism is, and in its desires to have within the Socialist Party only true Socialists of proletarian revolutionary consciousness. There is mighty little consolation for the enemy in that sort of a transformation of the Socialist Party, because anybody can see those who oppose the Left Wing, and make this the basis for trying to split the Party, are potentially the most dangerous enemies of the working class at a time of crisis.

Besides there is not so much discrimination on the part of the capitalists as might be imagined. They are largely ignorant about the Socialist movement, and their class viewpoint keeps them ignorant of Socialism until the time of revolution. Meanwhile they pay little attention to our party discussions. There is bound to be a new direction to the Socialist movement along with tremendous historical changes, and this is our special and most important business. In these adjustments of our policies and tactics there are bound to be a few whose minds are beyond the grasp of a new historical situation, who are bound to insist on their old habits of thought and action as against anything. It is our business to take care of our party according to the right ideas about what it should say and do, and in this we can very well ignore what anybody says about our internal adjustments.

After all, we will only stand together under a crucial test to the extent that we really agree on fundamental party policies and methods.

* * *

Objection: The Left Wing delights in revolutionary phrases leading nowhere except to idle shouting or outbreaks of violence.

Answer: The Left Wing insists upon the phrases which tell the truth about Socialism and the politics of the class struggle—and these phrases do, as a matter of fact, describe a revolutionary movement of the conscious proletariat to make an end to Capitalism.

In truth, however, it is the Reformists and Opportunists who play with phrases for their hypocritical purposes of alluring all sorts of persons through contrary interpretations. The Left Wing seeks the life meaning of all Socialist phrases, to convey life truths.

The program of the Communist International is a document of revolutionary Socialism, second only to the Communist Manifesto of 1848, and here is language with unambiguous meaning for any reader. The "statement of principles" of the National Executive Com-

mittee of the Socialist Party, issued May 29, is a conception of phrases made by jugglers using the phrases of Socialism to mean all things and nothing.

It must not be overlooked, also, that the mere expression of revolutionary phrases is at times the very essence of revolutionary Socialist action. An illustration which challenged the attention of all the world was the speech of Karl Liebknecht to a street meeting in Berlin calling upon German workers to rise against the Kaiser's government. Another illustration which commanded world-wide attention and which will find its place in the pages of universal history was the revolutionary expression of Eugene Debs in the Cleveland courtroom.

It is when the revolutionary phrases seize the mind of the masses and become translated into revolutionary action that the proletariat wins its triumphs. The critic who scorns the revolutionary phrases with rare exceptions, is really the "Socialist" who is against the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary phrases of Socialism have to do only with the mass power and mass action of the proletariat, and scorn the futile acts of individual terroristic violence which are unrelated to the organized proletarian movement. Nobody ever was or could be urged to individual acts of violence or sabotage through the propaganda of revolutionary Socialism.

* * *

Objection: But the workers of the United States do not yet want a revolution.

Answer: That is the misfortune, because the United States is grievously in need of the Socialist revolution.

This is the master-phrase of the opposition to the Left Wing, calculated to work upon the nervous fears of the timid and cautious. And though timidity and caution have their complete justification, there is no justification whatever for making this objection to the Left Wing.

We say that the conditions for the social revolution are here: the high concentration of wealth and the advanced centralization of industry, to such a point that supreme control is now in the hands of the dozen chiefs of the central financial institutions; the existence of the class of permanent wage-workers as the overwhelming element of the population; the adaptation of the entire national life to the military adventures of extra-territorial finance-exploitation, with a gigantic expenditure of materials and life (this expenditure being in itself the most fruitful source of finance-exploitation); the complete negation of the parliamentary democracy by open control by the financial masters, as during the war and since, and as emphasized by the agreement of the different capitalist parties on all essential economic matters, such as tariffs, banking and currency, control of public utilities, suppression of effective labor organization, yielding up of former concessions to the petty bourgeoisie in the nature of anti-trust laws, taxation at point of consumption, with minimum of taxation at the point of net profits, and Monroe Doctrine insistence upon all of South and Central America as the special imperialistic monopoly of American finance-capital.

American Capitalism has reached the stage where its further progress carries with it an inevitable and terrible toll of destructiveness. On the side of the working class there can be

(Continued on page 11)

Aspects of the Russian Revolution

1.—What is Bolshevism?

BOLSHEVISM is the Social Revolution to which Socialists have looked forward for more than half a century. It is the inevitable struggle which must accompany the transition of society from Capitalism to Socialism. It is the final battle of the workers of the world for power to end forever the tyranny of class rule, and the misery of exploitation.

History is a chronicle of the slavery of the working class in many forms—chattel slavery, serfdom, wage slavery. At various periods one group of exploiters has wrested the power from another—kings from priests, barons from kings, merchants from barons, plutocrats from them all; but always the workers have toiled, and always the product of their labor has been taken from them.

Many attempts have been made by the workers to overthrow their exploiters, and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, in the words of John Ball, "without money and without price." Every attempt up to now has been crushed in blood and fire—the slave insurrections of Rome, the Communist risings in the Middle Ages, the Paris Commune of 1871, and the Russian Revolution of 1905.

In Socialism the working class for the first time based its aspiration to freedom on scientific fact. Bolshevism is Socialism put into practice. Today the workers are becoming conscious of their power and ability to win the world for Labor. They always had the power, and sometimes the wish. But they lacked the will and the knowledge of the way. Bolshevism is the will and the way.

The word "Bolshevism," which can be freely translated as "program of the majority," originated at a convention of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903, which split into two factions—the majority (*bolskinstvo*) adopting the principles which, after the actual experiences of the Revolution of 1905, developed into what we now call Bolshevism. The main idea of the Bolsheviks at that time was that the present is a revolutionary period—a period when the struggle of the working class turns into open revolution; that the power of the Army of Capitalism lies in the fact that its organization is centralized, and commanded by a General Staff—and that in order to overthrow Capitalism, the Army of the Working class must also be centrally organized, with its General Staff. The Staff of the Army of Capitalism is directed by capitalists, in the interest of the few. The Staff of the Working Class fights under the direction and in the interests of the many—the workers.

In this Convention the minority (*menshinstvo*)—afterward known as Mensheviks—held that the working class as yet had neither the knowledge of how to overthrow Capitalism, nor the ability to create a new social order; and that therefore Social Revolution was impossible for a long time to come. Moreover, they believed that Socialism was to be achieved by "education" and "democratic" political action.

Bolshevism is practical. It does not assume that the capitalist class is going to be legislated out of power without a fight. Power is based on private ownership. In order to secure power the workers must control capitalist property, and abolish ownership. This they can do only by force—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Today the workers of all countries are resolving to make an end to Capitalism. Bolshevism asserts that it is the Socialists, the trained

By John Reed.

revolutionary thinkers, who must point out the way, and lead the workers along it.

As Lenin says, "If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people permits it, then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years . . . The Socialist political party—this is the vanguard of the working class; it must not allow itself to be halted by the lack of education of the mass average, but it must be the masses using the Soviets as organs of revolutionary initiative. . . ."

The Soviets are the representative bodies of the vast majority of the organized working class. Without the unhesitating support of this vast majority, revolutionary leaders could accomplish nothing. Bolshevism in Russia conquered only because the people were ready to follow it. Bolshevism is established today in Russia because it is supported by the greater part of the Russian people.

If this were not so, the Bolsheviks would have ceased to lead the Russian Revolution long ago. Their power is based upon the Soviets, for whom all persons who live by working may cast their votes—and the delegates to which are subject to instant recall. Local Soviets meet frequently, and may be summoned in extra session on short notice by a minority, for the voters, peasants or workers, are always gathered together in the fields and factories. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, consisting of over 2,500 members, meets every three months, at which time the Government automatically resigns and a new Government is elected, responsible to the Congress and its Central Executive Committee. And between times, any or all members of the Government may be easily recalled from office.

The Socialist Commonwealth is not born without fearful birth-pangs—the Proletarian Dictatorship. Russia today is not a Socialist Commonwealth—nor does it pretend to be. There is a Proletarian Dictatorship, engaged in conducting the final struggle of the working class against the capitalist class—not, however, its own capitalist class, for that has been conquered, but International Capitalism. Until International Capitalism is overthrown, Proletarian Dictatorship will not, cannot end.

As it is, however, the Russian Soviet Republic, hampered by the lack of education of a people for centuries plunged by tyranny in darkness, and engaged in defending itself against the world, has already accomplished miracles in organizing industry, agriculture, and education—only hinting at the mighty achievements of the new order, when the removal of capitalist obstruction finally frees the creative genius of the workers.

When the working class, the basic stratum of society, heaves its giant shoulders, the entire superstructure of Capitalism cracks and falls in ruins.

Before our eyes nation after nation is drawn into the headlong current of Social Revolution, with Bolshevism at the helm.

Bolshevism is Socialism arrived at the point of social revolution—at the dictatorship of the proletariat foretold by Karl Marx.

The object of proletarian dictatorship is to seize the power of the capitalist class and transfer it to the workers. It has no other purpose.

The methods and expedients it must use vary according to conditions. In Russia today, half the strength of the proletarian dictatorship is employed in defending itself against

the assaults of International Capitalism. But both in its external and internal policies, the Russian Soviet Government is supported by the great majority of the people—peasants as well as industrial workers.

2.—Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution. Bolshevism saved the Russian Revolution. To the Russian people the Revolution meant Peace, Land to the peasants, and workers' control of industry. The propertied classes would not surrender their property; and the "moderate" Socialists, who compromised with the land-owners and capitalists, could not accomplish the will of the people. Only a government exclusively of and for the workers and peasants could satisfy these demands.

The Bolsheviks advocated such a Government, and made these popular demands the basis of their program. And the history of the Russian Revolution is the chronicle of the awakening of the masses to the political realities of the situation.

The overthrow of Czarism, in March, 1917, was accomplished by the spontaneous action of the popular masses. The bourgeois Liberals did not participate in the Revolution. Only after the Revolution was accomplished did they step in, through the Provisional Government, and try to bridle it for the purpose of perpetuating Capitalism.

Meanwhile the masses were themselves organizing. On March 14th the newly-formed Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies proclaimed: "All together we will fight for the removal of the old Government."

The Soviets, representing truly the masses of workers, soldiers and peasants, thus appeared as the real Government of the people—which, if it had not been diverted by the "moderate" Socialists, could have become the Government of Russia early in the Revolution.

This was what the Bolsheviks never ceased to urge, with their slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!"

The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Soviets; at first they announced that the Soviets would be "a pistol at the head of the Provisional Government, to compel it to keep its promises"—but they ended by supporting the Provisional Government and trying to dissolve the Soviets.

These "moderate" Socialists held that owing to the economic backwardness of Russia, the Revolution could only be a political Revolution—not a social Revolution. Therefore, naturally, a capitalist state must first be established in Russia. Distrusting both the masses and themselves, they refused to take the power for the Soviets.

The capitalist Ministers, aware of their weakness, threatened to resign unless the Soviet leaders would enter the Government. The "moderate" Socialists complied; on May 19th the first Coalition Cabinet was formed—which, with the economic life still controlled by the capitalists, made the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries defenders of Capitalism in Russia.

For the "Moderate" Socialists needed the capitalists worse than the capitalists needed the "Moderate" Socialists.

Impelled by the attitude of the masses, the Soviet leaders proclaimed the Russian peace-terms: "No annexations, no indemnities, the right of self-determination of peoples." But the Provisional Government had ratified the secret treaties concluded between the Czar and the Allies, and the "moderate" Socialists continued to support a war which they themselves

had denounced as a "senseless imperialistic slaughter." At the bidding of the Allies and the Russian imperialists, they countenanced the July offensive, which was contrary to the very principles of the Revolution, and resulted in the demoralization of the Russian army. Depending on the capitalists, they were reduced to begging the Russian and Allied imperialists to renounce their imperialistic aims—and were contemptuously ignored.

On the other hand, the "moderate" Socialists in the Government could not accomplish anything toward the settlement of the problems of Land and Industry. In fact, their dependence on the capitalists forced them to act against the masses: "Socialist" Minister Kerensky reintroduced capital punishment in the army; "Socialist" Minister Avksentiev sent Cossacks to suppress agrarian revolts against the land-lords; "Socialist" Minister Nikitin broke the railway strike; "Socialist" Minister Stobieliev tried to dissolve the Workers' Committees.

Thwarting the will of the popular masses, the "moderate" Socialists gave the capitalists an opportunity to organize and attempt the overthrow of the Revolution by force,—the Kornilov counter-revolution.

This destroyed the last faith of the masses in the "moderate" Socialists. Behind Kornilov was plainly visible the mailed fist of the propertied classes; and yet, in the face of the bitter resentment of the whole country, the "moderate" Socialists insisted on forming a new Government with the same propertied classes!

When the Bolsheviks seized the power in November, the army was starving and demoralized; there was no food in the cities; transportation had practically ceased; strikes, lock-outs, and agrarian troubles were everywhere; the capitalists, in the Council of the Russian Republic, were stronger than before; and the "moderate" Socialists were telling the people: "We can't do anything—but wait for the Constituent Assembly!"

The Bolsheviks said to the people:

"The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries promised you Peace, Land and Industrial Control eight months ago. Now they tell you to wait for the Constituent Assembly."

"Like the Provisional Government, the Constituent Assembly is an expression of existing class-relations. If the capitalists control Russia, the Constituent Assembly will do their will or be dispressed. If the working class controls Russia, the Constituent Assembly must do our will."

"The whole Governmental structure is built to serve and protect Capitalism; it can do nothing else."

"You must seize the power, destroy the entire political edifice, and build a new one, controlled by yourselves alone, and fitted to serve the working class only. Fortunately you have one ready to hand—the Soviets. All power to the Soviets!"

On November 7th, 1917, the Soviets—which in the meanwhile had developed a Bolshevik majority—took over the Government. And the Provisional Government, supported by the "moderate" Socialists, was unable in all Russia to rally to its aid more than a handful of Cossacks, junkers, and White Guards!

The Constituent Assembly, elected from lists of candidates made up four months before, accurately reflected the "coalition" of capitalists and "moderate" Socialists which was in power at that time. It refused to ratify either the People's Government of Soviets, or the popular demands. So the people dissolved it—and the dissolution provoked not a ripple of protest among the Russian masses; only the "Socialist intellectuals" and the New York Times objected.

Several months ago the seventy Constituent Assembly members who held together, with the President, Victor Tchernov, joined the Soviet Government. No opposition to Bolshevism based on the Constituent Assembly is valid any more.

Bolshevism is sweeping Europe. In every country in the world it has captured the imagination of conscious workers. It smashed Imperial Germany; said the German General Hoffman, in a recent interview, "We did not use Bolshevism. Bolshevism used us!"

* * *

Any discussion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace is now purely academic. It accomplished its purpose in giving Soviet Russia a respite in which to prepare for the Revolutionary war—a war of propaganda—which finally resulted in the defeat of Imperial Germany, and has won back for Russia all the "surrendered" territories which have not been invaded or held by Governments subsidized by the Allies.

There was nothing else for the Bolsheviks to do but make peace. When the Soviets came to power, thanks to the criminal policy of the Provisional Governments, there was no Russian Army.

This was recognized by all parties; by Kerensky's Minister of War, General Verkhovsky, when, on November 2 he announced that the Russian army could fight no longer; by Dan, representing the moderate "Socialists" at the last meeting of the old Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on November 6, when he said, "Unfortunately, Russia can no longer support the continuation of the war. There is going to be peace, but not permanent peace—not a democratic peace;" and finally by the lamented Constituent Assembly itself.

The first acts of the Bolshevik Government were to propose to all nations, three distinct times, to enter negotiations for a general democratic peace. This invitation was contemptuously ignored, leaving the only resource of the Soviet Government to make a separate peace with Germany.

Trotsky wanted to drag out the negotiations as long as possible, so that, first, the Allied peoples might see the sincerity of the Soviet Government and force their Governments to join the Conference; and second, that the German proletariat might be roused to revolution.

Lenin's theory was: "The Allies are dominated by Imperialists. The German proletariat is not yet ready to rise. We must sign a peace in the end. If we do not accept the first peace terms offered, then we shall have to accept worse ones later. And no matter how many people believe in our sincerity, the moment we sign the inevitable peace treaty we shall be called German agents by the bourgeoisie of the world."

Trotsky's plan was adopted—and Lenin's prophesy came true.

Says Lenin: "We were forced to sign a 'Tilsit peace'. . . . The Peace of Tilsit (Napoleon, 1807) was Germany's greatest humiliation, and at the same time the turning-point toward the greatest of national revivals. . . ."

"Because the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie hoped to re-establish the Eastern front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of war, they refused to attend the peace negotiations, and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It ill-becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace on our shoulders. . . ."

"We are in a beleaguered fortress as long

as no other international Social Revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours. They grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer Imperialism with its brutalities continues. Working men the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gomperses and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably, labor is approaching Communist Bolshevik tactics—is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

"We are invincible. The proletarian Revolution is invincible."

3. *Proletarian Dictatorship and Democracy.* The Social Revolution has arrived. The first battle of the working class for control of the world is now being fought in Russia. Lenin said, before the Fourth Congress of Soviets, March, 1918:

"The civil war brought about by the desperate resistance of the propertied classes, who are well aware that this is to be the last, the determining conflict for the retention of private ownership of land and of the means of production, has not yet reached its climax. In this conflict the victory of the Soviets is certain, but for some time our intensest efforts will still be required. A period of disorganization is inevitable—that is the case in all wars, all the more so in a civil war—before the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken."

Until this resistance is broken—until the capitalist class is eliminated through the confiscation of its property and the abolition of private ownership, democracy is impossible. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the only means by which this can be accomplished. And as soon as the capitalist class has disappeared, the Dictatorship automatically ceases.

In all countries state of war exists between the working class and the capitalists. In most countries the Dictatorship of the Capitalists keeps the workers down by force, but cannot abolish them, for the workers are indispensable. In Russia, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is abolishing Capitalism—for the capitalists are not necessary to society.

Political Democracy is a fake.

Modern nations have two governments; the political government, in which every man theoretically has a vote—and the economic government, in which the few who own industry and control production are autocrats over millions of workers. The policies of "democratic" governments are dictated by the "interests." Woodrow Wilson, in his "New Freedom," indicates this when he points out that the United States Government is in the hands of the great corporations.

Political democracy simply means that everybody may vote for a Government which must serve the "interests."

"Political power, properly so-called," says the Communist Manifesto, "is merely the organized power of one class oppressing another." The institutions of modern "democratic" governments are designated to protect and enforce the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. Therefore, even if the working class should capture the political power by a majority of votes, that power could only go on exploiting the workers—unless industry were taken out of the hands of the capitalist class. The capitalists would resist this by force—as they have in the past—as they are doing in Russia and Germany today.

But it is impossible for the workers to get control of the state through the machinery of political democracy. They must forcibly seize industry, abolish the present form of government, and set up a new one in the interests

(Continued on page 10)

The Treaty of Versailles

By G. Chicherin

Russian Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs

THE Versailles peace treaty signifies not peace but a further continuation of war. It creates a condition that can produce nothing else than a continuation of the war. Besides, this is the purpose of the framers of the treaty, namely, to make the war conditions lasting in order to be in a better position to combat the working class movement. The present *de facto* oligarchy keeps itself in power by inciting the workers of different countries against one another. It is obvious that the capitalist governments formulated such a peace as signifies a continuation of war. It is a war in so far as it drives certain workers into conflict with others; it is a peace in so far as, by the continuation of bloodshed, it does not kindle revolutions. Thus, in the last analysis, calculates the oligarchy. Whether their calculations are correct—that is another question.

One instrument of the unbroken warfare seems to be the League of Nations, which, under the Treaty of Versailles, implies a continuation of the coalition, not a peace organization for whose foundation Imperialism is clearly not fitted. *But even this coalition can not exist for long; on the first contact with reality it will, of itself, fall to pieces.*

The only purpose of the League of Nations is to serve as a demagogic cover under which is hidden the continued coalition of the Entente powers against their German rivals. The League of Nations used to be a demagogic means to work up the patriotism of the masses

in the Entente nations; but conditions have changed. The mob has already ceased to believe the stories told them for such a long time, and all that demagoguery on the League of Nations is already somewhat stale. I am convinced that it will not delay for one moment the rapidly spreading revolutionary movement in the Entente countries.

Besides the very fact of a continuing existence of a military coalition shows that the conditions created at Versailles are but a new form of prolongation of the war; it shows that the old world is not in a position to solve either the contradictions formed by it, or the problems which it establishes for itself, and that the moment has arrived for the new society to take the legacy which it alone is in a position to manage.

As to general disarmament, it is only a new manoeuvre to continue the rule of the oligarchy. Universal military obligation prepared the masses for revolution. The workers used the arms put into their hands to threaten their masters. Therefore the oligarchy is obliged to turn to the system of voluntary service and, instead of the national militia, there are organized bands of White Guards.

This program of disarmament is also a new demonstration that the Treaty of Versailles is hurrying to reconcile not only national but

class antagonisms. Germany is brought to such financial exhaustion that the German people even if they worked day and night, could not recover from this condition. As to the other aspects of economic life, Germany is made entirely unable to pull itself out of the condition into which it is put. All this leads only to the result that the antagonism of interests in the international field will take on a most lingering, sharp, and serious character.

Lorraine and the Sarre Basin constitute a prize of war, and through this acquisition the French hope to gain a large stake for their own pocket. The working class has nothing to gain on this, but it is a fact, on the contrary, that French capital is afraid of the revolutionary traditions of the French workers, and therefore frequently shows the inclination of fastening itself on a foreign labor market.

In the department of Meurthe and Moselle, French capital has to deal not with the French working class, but with a motley mass of workers of all sorts of nationalities. The French capitalists thus strengthen their class condition and still less than before reckon with the Parisian workers and their revolutionary inclinations.

In general, what is done at Versailles is not in a position to bring a condition of quiet; it only drives the workers into the street. This still-born treaty of the Allied powers turns over a new leaf in history for mankind: a revolutionary period of "storm and attack."

Aspects of the Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 9)

of their own class. This Government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will take away capitalist property and disfranchise all who do not work. When the capitalist class is eliminated, the war between the workers and the capitalists will be over, classes will have disappeared, and democracy will follow, based upon equality and the liberty of the individual.

Real democracy must act in accordance with the interests of society as a whole. Our own form of Government is a striking example of a Government designed to uphold the interests of a minority—the capitalist class. *Apparently democratic in form, the Constitution of the United States was deliberately framed, by landlords, traders and speculators, to establish and maintain their property rights and to thwart the will of the majority of the people.*

Revolutions are never precipitated by the majority of a people—even the American Revolution was not begun by a majority—but they must possess the power to overthrow the ruling class. In the past, successful revolutions have always replaced the rule of one minority class by another minority class. The characteristic of the Social Revolution now in process is that it does away with every form of class rule.

But even the Social Revolution will not—cannot be started by a majority. It is begun by a mass of class-conscious and resolute proletarians, and the course of the Revolution itself awakens ever greater and greater masses of workers to an understanding of their interests, and draws them into the vortex of revolt.

There is no reason why the revolutionary forces should represent an absolute majority. Even when they embrace the vast majority of

the working class, the acts and decisions of the Proletarian Dictatorship will not be based on democracy, but on the *class position* of the proletariat against the capitalist class position. In Russia the Proletarian Dictatorship could not last an hour unless it kept continually in touch with the revolutionary masses through the Soviets, leading yet controlled by the great popular will.

Moderate Socialists—and the bourgeoisie—accuse the Bolsheviks of advocating immediate, complete and perfect Socialism. What an absurdity! The Dictatorship of the Proletariat must last until Capitalism is abolished. Capitalism is international; world Capitalism must disappear before the Proletarian Dictatorship of any one country is ended.

Karl Marx said, "The victorious proletariat cannot seize the ready-made machinery of the State and use it for its own purposes." It must build new organizations, based not on the government of men, but on the administration of things.

In Russia it is undeniable that the great masses of the people wanted Peace, Land, and Workers' Control of Industry. In the sense that it has no other purpose than to give the people their desires, the Proletarian Dictatorship is profoundly democratic. In the sense that it refuses to ask the opinion of militarists, landlords and manufacturers upon these matters, the Proletarian Dictatorship rejects "democracy."

* * *

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is "political power." Its purpose is simply to abolish the capitalist class. The political power of the capitalists cannot abolish the workers—for the workers are essential to society; but the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can abolish the capitalists, for they are unnecessary.

Foiled in their game of tearing Marxian phrases from their context, the moderates, whenever they come across something in Marx that doesn't agree with their theories, explain that the old gentleman wrote it in a moment of aberration. "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," for example, was written "casually"—"merely a phrase," Marx really didn't mean it.

Apparently the moderates don't know where the phrase occurs, so they hint that it is part of the *Communist Manifesto*, written in 1847. They may quote some sentences—torn from their context, by the way—from *The Civil War in France*, written in 1870, to prove that Marx changed his mind.

As a matter of fact, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" occurs in a document five years later—*Critique of the Gotha Program* of 1875. Marx was then tolerably mature; he was not searching for "strong idioms;" he wanted to express himself clearly and definitely—and he did, as follows:

"Between the capitalistic society and the communistic lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition-period, in which the State cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This exactly defines the Russian Soviet Government.

As Marx says:

"They (the proletarians) have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property. . . ."

"In one word you (bourgeois) reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend. . . ."

"The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at. . . ."

And also bourgeois "democracy!"

The Left Wing Answers

(Continued from page 7)

only a constant swelling of the ranks of unskilled, transit labor, in correspondence with the progress of the machine process and the spasmodic character of the market demands.

Capitalist mastery tends rapidly to a stage of military feudalism, turned to ruthless labor suppression and regimentation of the entire national life on the basis of a universalized militarism. The labor revolt rapidly acquires consciousness of the desperate nature of the combat, and of the futility of all processes except its own mass defiance.

The Socialism which proceeds in consciousness of this process—the Socialism of the living class struggle, not of the illusory game of capitalist parliamentarism, a play of words while the real decisions are made in the Star Chambers of finance,—this Socialism must be supremely aware of its own function in relation to this cataclysmic social conflict. The correct statement of the proletarian policy and tactics in relation to this crisis, whether abrupt or prolonged (which depends on the development of revolutionary class consciousness) is the immediate obligation of the Socialist movement. The mass expressions evolving out of the Socialist organization itself should take on the essential character of the general mass assertion upon which the revolution itself depends.

In other words, the school of revolutionary understanding and revolutionary activity cannot await the morning of the social revolution, else the proletarian mass protest against imperialistic exploitation will yield only blood.

* * *

Objection: The Left Wing wants to substitute violence for political action.

Answer: Violence, in the labor movement, arises either by capitalistic provocation or by individual act unrelated to the organization propaganda or tactics. In the United States, today, we find the illustration of brazen capitalistic efforts to incite desperate workingmen to acts of violence, by fake examples and by constant suggestion of acts of individual violence as part of the program of the revolutionary movement. We find also the wholesale organization of violence as the answer to proletarian propaganda, with its compulsion of quitting or resistance on the part of the workers.

The Left Wing wants to make the political action of the Socialist Party of the character of revolutionary Socialism. That is, the platforms of the party and the role of its members in public office must be part and parcel of the entire propaganda of the party; all in the direct line of the revolutionary class struggle.

Our conception of political action must not be based on the rules and models of bourgeois politics, but must be in adaptation to the proletarian conditions of mass functioning. That is, the proletariat develops modes of power peculiar to its own circumstances, as its power to check the industrial processes by means of strikes, or its power to check military adventures by non-refusal of service. Whatever the method of expressing the proletarian mass power, everything comes within the terms of political action just so soon as it is turned to a political object, that is, the object of winning the state power, or of coercing the state power in relation to a particular policy.

The Reformists conceive of political action in terms of a modification of the political and economic regime of Capitalism. The Left Wing, on the other hand, regards political

action from the angle of array of the revolutionary proletariat outside the capitalist state to coerce its actions, and, in final terms, to capture the state power in its entirety.

This difference is crucial. If the objection is that the Left Wing is not seriously concerned with the system of capitalist politics as a system, ranging in detail from the most aristocratic conservatism to the most radical Laborism, that is correct. Within this play of capitalist politics, there is little of consequence to the development of the Socialist movement. It is the outside array which is of consequence, against proletarian mass power. It is the item of proletarian consciousness which throws the balance one way or the other. That consciousness can be affected by the use of the capitalist political machinery, and it is upon this basis that the Socialist Party enters into the regular political campaign, through it visualizes the real conflict as outside the parliamentary and administrative circles.

* * *

Objection: The Left Wing offers no constructive plan.

Answer: Making a catalogue of occupational and administrative reforms, as in our American Socialist Party platforms, is certainly no constructive program of Socialism. It is constructive of nothing, unless it be a more

Unionism and Mass Action

(Continued from page 14)

that it frees the energy, while it co-ordinates the forces, of the proletariat, compels the proletariat to act uncompromisingly and reject the "rights" of any other class; and action destroys hesitancy and a paltering with the revolutionary task.

The great war has objectively brought Europe to the verge of revolt. Capitalist society at any moment may be thrust into the air by an upheaval of the proletariat,—as in Russia. Whence will the impulse for the revolutionary struggle come? Surely not from the moderate Socialism and unionism, which are united solidly in favor of an imperialistic war; surely not from futile parliamentary rhetoric, even should it be revolutionary rhetoric. The impulse will come out of the mass action of the proletariat. And it is this mass action alone that can sweep aside the hesitancy and the risks, that can topple over the repressions and power of the bourgeois state. Mass action is the dynamic impulse of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, whatever the specific form it may assume; in the actual revolutionary period, mass action unites all forms of struggle in one sweeping action against Capitalism, each contributing its share as integral phases of the general mass action,—as in the proletarian revolution in Russia. In a crisis, the state rigidly controls all the available forces of normal action; parliaments become impotent, and a "state of siege" prevails that can be broken through only by revolutionary mass action,—equally during war and in any revolutionary situation.

Mass action is dynamic, pliable, creative; the proletariat through mass action instinctively adapts itself to the means and the tactics necessary in a prevailing situation. The forms of activity of the proletariat are not limited and stultified by mass action, they are broadened, deepened and co-ordinated. Mass action is equally a process of revolution and the Revolution itself in operation.

efficient Capitalism, a better-ordered slavery of the wage-worker.

The only "constructive" element of such platforms is that they may induce a few persons to vote for the Socialist candidates who are not in opposition to Capitalism as a system. They give the appearance of a "practical" program—because they contain features which appeal as reasonable within the terms of Capitalism. In so far as they are "practical," the enlightened capitalists assure their enforcement. This is part of the general social progress, not in any way the particular mission of the Socialists. On the contrary, it is a perversion of the Socialist movement to let it fall into the mesh of advocacy of capitalist reforms, most of which have a reverse effect against the fundamental interests of the working class.

The constructive work of the Socialist Party is to develop the proletarian consciousness upon which depends the overthrow of Capitalism; to develop the organization and tactical basis for expression of this consciousness, and to formulate the general program for the proletarian manoeuvres both in winning power and in using this power to make the basic economic changes upon which the Socialist order of society depends.

The Left Wing denies that there is any "constructive" policy of Socialism within the formulas of capitalist management. The Left Wing declares that the first constructive step is the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Only after this step can there be proletarian democracy and socialization of industry.

The thing to construct today, in the United States, is an accurate understanding and consciousness on the part of the militant proletarians of the character of the struggle in which they are engaged and of their organization requirements in relation to this struggle. An accurate understanding of the class struggle of itself indicates the general character of the Socialist transformation by which private-property exploitation is to be ended.

* * *

Objection: The Left Wingers are mostly "November Bolsheviks." They are emotionally carried away by the Russian Revolution.

Answer: Yes, many of the Left Wingers are "November Bolsheviks." None the worse, if they are Bolsheviks.

There has never been such a lesson in Socialism as that of the Russian Revolution, a lesson made universal by the experience of Germany in November 1918 and afterwards.

It is a lesson that is being intensified every day and in all countries. It is neither transient nor unique. Even the Opportunists are willing to admit its appropriateness for practically every country—except their own! And this is true of the Opportunists in each country! (Even in Russia!)

Naturally the new life of the Socialist movement comes as a direct response to the immediate revolutionary inspiration. This response must be given increasing consciousness and effective organization character.

Assuredly there is a large element of emotionalism in the response to the Russian Revolution, and emotionalism which is not harnessed to understanding is apt to prove effervescent. But such emotionalism is the very life of our movement. It must be tempered and tested. But without it we would be not a movement of flesh and blood, but a sectarian creed of abstract dogma.

Unionism and Mass Action

By Louis C. Fraina
From "Revolutionary Socialism"

THE working class, as every revolutionary class, passes through a process of material and ideological development, in which its purposes and tactics, determined by the prevailing historical conditions, are transformed and adapted to new circumstances as they arise. This development, roughly, consists of three phases:

1. Isolated economic action, through craft unions and sporadic strikes, with a gradual development of the idea of independent political action as a revolutionary means of struggle.

2. Political action, in its parliamentary sense, dominant in the proletarian class movement, becomes conservative and incompatible with the development of the proletariat; does not adapt itself to this development; and revolutionary movements arise, industrial in character, that repudiate all politics.

3. The third phase, the phase into which we are now emerging, adjusts itself to new circumstances and the increasing development of the proletariat, recognizing industrial and political action as synthetic factors in the general mass action of the proletariat, as phases of the dynamic struggles of the new social-revolutionary era.

The proletariat steps upon the stage of history as a revolutionary class. It was the still immature class of workers that saved the French Revolution, that established a bourgeois revolution in spite of the cowardly hesitancy and compromise of the bourgeoisie. In all subsequent revolutions in France—and France is the classical exemplar of this period in the development of the proletariat—the workers were a dynamic factor; they made the revolution, but they could not retain control because of the immaturity of their class development. The great struggle of the Paris Commune was the final heroic act of this period, and at the same time a projection of what was to come. In the historical sense, these revolts were not revolution but insurrections, revival of the action of the bourgeois revolution and dominated largely by its ideology. With the downfall of the Commune and the collapse of the social-revolutionary First International, the workers enter upon a new period, the period of systematic, peaceful organization and struggle, along national and moderate lines, and not international and revolutionary. The value of these early revolts lay in impressing the workers with a sense of their own class immaturity and driving out of their consciousness the surviving ideology of the bourgeois revolution.

The workers, when they organize against Capitalism, organize into unions to carry on a struggle for more wages and better conditions of work generally. Largely because their skill is still an important factor (and these early movements are dominantly movements of skilled labor), the workers win certain concessions. But because they are skilled workers, and equally because Capitalism has not yet integrated industry and the proletariat, these movements do not assume revolutionary proportions, nor do they actually conquer material concessions. The economic action is isolated; there is no general contact of the working class with the capitalist class, and the conception of a more general class struggle arises, developing into politics and parliamentary activity. Through the action of politics, the workers oppose a general struggle to Capitalism, a struggle that

cannot develop out of isolated economic action. At this period the concept of the workers engaging in independent class politics is revolutionary, as it develops the consciousness of class and establishes class contact with the ruling class.

Socialism, with its program of class politics, offers the workers a class conception and class activity that are historically revolutionary. This development marks an epoch in the proletarian movement. It arouses, ideologically and potentially at least, the workers' consciousness of class; and without this consciousness of class the proletariat is doomed either to futile insurrection or being an instrument for the promotion of rival bourgeois interests.

Accordingly, Socialism develops along the lines of politics, in the parliamentary sense. But a means of action may be revolutionary or conservative according to historical conditions and requirements. At one period, a particular means may be revolutionary; at another, considering new conditions which require new or supplementary means of action, it may become conservative, even reactionary. This is precisely what happens to Socialism in its parliamentary phase, which is its dominant phase. Where previously Socialism developed the consciousness of class and potential revolution in the proletariat, within the limits of its maturity, it now becomes a force that hampers this development.

Socialism in its early activity as a general organized movement was compelled to emphasize the action of politics because of the immaturity of the proletariat. The workers are scattered, and their struggles are largely directed against the individual employer; large scale industry has not developed sufficiently to make large masses of workers engage in a general industrial class struggle against Capitalism and the state. The workers, subjectively and objectively, find it difficult to establish general class contact with each other industrially; it could be, and it was, done through political contact of isolated workers. Socialism, the dominant parliamentary Socialism, sees in the unions simply a transitory phase which may be necessary under given conditions, but which are unimportant in comparison with politics, as is mass action and extra-parliamentary action generally. The unions are conceived as conservative instruments, as organizations that in fact retard the revolutionary development of the workers,—which is true, in the period under consideration, but not as an ultimate proposition. Socialism makes a fetish of politics: parliamentarism is emphasized as the instrument with which the proletariat may emancipate itself. But that happens which differs from the earlier Socialist politics; under the impulse of the national bias, social-reformism and an opportunism that refuses to adapt itself to new requirements, the parliamentary, as well as the general, activity of Socialism becomes conservative, hesitant, compromising. The dominant Socialism becomes a fetter upon the emancipation of the proletariat.

This result does not arise out of any one fact, but of a series of facts, previously considered; the central fact is that Socialism did not adjust itself to the development of the proletariat, nor to the social-revolutionary era objectively introduced by Imperialism and the

war; and this failure to adjust purposes and tactics to the new proletarian and social conditions conservatizes Socialism, turns it into a reactionary force,—temporarily, to be sure, but still reactionary.

The concentration of industry and technological development generally have during the past twenty years revolutionized the material existence of the proletariat. On the one hand has been produced the typical proletarian of average unskilled labor; on the other, the integration of industry in mammoth proportions has developed the conditions for general class action of the workers through industrial means directed against the capitalist, not as an individual but as a class, and against the whole bourgeois regime and its state. The proletariat has been centralized into large industrial groupings, and its revolts and action constitute a general action against Capitalism, the tremors of which are felt throughout the whole industrial and social system. This development, coincident, it must be emphasized, with the rise of Imperialism, arouses discontent and revolts in the craft unions, which are unable to cope with the new developments, and in which the unskilled become a more and more influential factor. But even more significant are the great strikes involving large masses of unorganized unskilled workers, strikes that shake the very fabric of capitalist society, and the influence of which stimulate revolutionary currents within the Socialist organizations. Instead of recognizing the revolutionary vitality of these new developments, the dominant Socialism tries to compress and stultify them within the limits of the old tactics, tries to maintain the ascendancy of a Socialism expressing the non-revolutionary elements of skilled labor and the petty bourgeoisie. In its struggles against Capitalism and the dominant Socialism the unskilled industrial proletariat turns to mass action, a mass action that emphasizes the futurity and reactionary character of pure and simple parliamentarism.

The reactionary character of the dominant Socialism is expressed not simply in the failure to accept the new developments, but in the fact that it has frequently condemned and opposed manifestations of the new proletarian action, occasionally even actively betrayed the unskilled proletariat while it was in the midst of gigantic struggles against Capitalism.

The dominant Socialism maintains its influence because of prestige, the conservatism of organization, and the insufficiently developed consciousness of the unskilled proletariat; but it is gradually undermined by industrial development and its new requirements. The industrial proletariat is "organized by the very mechanism of capitalist production itself;" industry becomes co-ordinated, integrated, and the strikes of the industrial workers assume revolutionary significance, antagonizing the dominant craft unions and parliamentary Socialism, and striking directly at Capitalism through the industrial source of capitalist supremacy. While antagonisms between the *bloc* of skilled labor and the *petite bourgeoisie* as against the capitalist class are softened, the antagonisms between the industrial proletariat and Capitalism are sharpened. Industrial struggles become more and more general, larger in scope and intensity; a new epoch of class war emerges, relentless in spirit and aggressive in purpose,—a class war having as its driving

force the mass action of the industrial proletariat of average labor.

The new conditions of proletarian struggle develop new conceptions of organization, or ideas of organization. The facts of industrial concentration, the decreasing importance of skilled labor, the massing of industrial control in a centralized capitalist autocracy, render more and more futile the economic struggles of the craft unions, which now engage largely in industrial and political bargaining. But a new and militant force arises in the unions, composed of the unskilled and those whose skill has been expropriated by the machine process; revolutionary currents develop, and the problem of industrial unionism becomes an issue. Industrial unionism, however, is incompatible with the dominant forces in the craft unions; the unskilled are a minority, and industrial unionism is turned into a compromise, a grotesque compromise in the form of "amalgamations." The concept of industrial unity and solidarity of action cannot break through the pride and prestige of craft and property; industrial unionism founders on the rocks of craft disputes and jurisdictional squabbles, which absorb so much of craft union activity. The craft unions are completely destroyed, as in the steel industry, or they become, largely, mere "job trusts" and instruments of peaceful bargaining and compromise with the employers, supplemented by betrayals of the unskilled.

Industrial unionism becomes an expression of, and develops real strength and influence among, the unskilled workers, in whom common conditions of labor, absence of craft distinctions and the discipline of machine industry develop the necessity and potentiality of the industrial form of organization. The power of this proletariat lies in its mass and numbers, in its lack of artificial distinctions of skill and craft. Being a product of the massing of workers in a particular industry, the unskilled strike *en masse*, act through mass action; being united and disciplined by concentrated industry and its machine process, the unskilled proletariat organizes its unions industrially, in accord with the facts of industry, in accord with the conditions of its work and existence. Industrial unionism in form is an expression of the integration of industry and the proletariat by the mechanism of capitalist production itself, and it becomes peculiarly the unionism of the revolutionary proletariat. All groups of workers in an industry are organized and unified into one union, cast in the mold of the industry in which they work, artificial differences of occupational divisions being swept aside. Strikes become general and acquire political significance, action becomes the action of the mass, the integrated action of an integrated proletariat. Where the craft unions initiated the strike of a single group of workers in an industry, the industrial union initiates a strike of *all the workers*. The ideology of solidarity becomes the practice of solidarity.

Industrial unionism, as the expression of unskilled workers impelled by objective conditions to subjectively accept class action, acquires a revolutionary concept, consciousness and activity. Instead of the craft union motto of "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," industrial unionism inscribes upon its banners the revolutionary motto, "Abolition of the wages system." The ultimate purpose of industrial unionism is the organization of all the workers in accord with the facts of production, constructing in this way the structure of the new society within the old, as a necessary phase in the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a new society which shall function through the industrially organized producers. Not the state, but the

industrial union is the instrument of revolution,—equally the might for the revolutionary act and the norm of the new society. Industrial unionism is not simply a means, a more effective means than any previously used, to carry on the every-day struggle against the employing class; it is Socialism in action and Socialism in the making.

But the dominant conservative Socialism refuses to accept, it cannot accept unless transforming itself, the revolutionary implications of industrial unionism. Organized Socialism persists in rendering stultifying homage to the fetish of parliamentarism. The general defects of parliamentarism are emphasized and multiplied by the conditions of State Capitalism and the developing requirements of the proletariat of average labor: it cannot express the requirements of this proletariat, nor can it successfully wage the struggle against State Capitalism, which means an intensification of class antagonisms and struggles and the development of an emerging proletarian state through industrial unions as against the state of imperialistic State Capitalism. The new movements of the industrial proletariat engage in a struggle to revolutionize the dominant Socialism; the struggle fails and is relinquished, developing the idea that Socialist politics *as such* are not and never can become revolutionary; the trend becomes one of severing relations with Socialism, and the revolutionary movements of the proletariat acquire an active or passive non-political bias. This development emphasizes the vital defects of the parliamentary policy of Socialism.

This non-political policy is temporary, being the product of transitory conditions. As industrial unionism engages more and more in the general class fight against Capitalism, as parliamentary Socialism weakens under the pressure of revolutionary events, each in itself and even jointly are considered incomplete, and the two means of action become merged in the general action of the proletariat, centralized, dominated and energized by revolutionary mass action.

What are the limitations of industrial unionism and parliamentary action in their particularized activity?

Parliamentary action in and of itself cannot realize the militant independence of the proletariat, marshal its forces and organize its revolutionary action. Parliamentary activity is an expression of the proletarian struggle, not the struggle itself; it is a form of expression of class power, but not a fundamental factor in developing this class power. Parliamentarism in itself cannot alter the actual bases of power in the class struggle, nor develop that force without which the aspirations of the Revolution are unrealizable. All propaganda, all electoral and parliamentary activity are insufficient for the overthrow of Capitalism, impotent when the ultimate test of the class struggle turns into a test of *power*. The power for the Social Revolution issues out of the actual struggles of the proletariat, out of its strikes, its industrial unions and mass action. The peaceful parliamentary conquest of the state is either sheer utopia or reaction; this conception forgets two important things: the actual power of government resides in industry and power of administrative autocracy, not in parliament, and this power must be overthrown by extra-parliamentary action; while it is utterly inconceivable that revolutionary Socialism should ever secure power through an electoral majority under the forms of bourgeois democracy. Parliamentarism is actually counter-revolutionary, as it strengthens the fetish of democracy; bourgeois democracy must be annihilated before the proletarian revolution

may function. The revolution is an act of a minority, at first; of the most class conscious section of the industrial proletariat, which, in a test of electoral strength, would be a minority, but which, being a solid, industrially indispensable class, can disperse and defeat all other classes through the annihilation of the fraudulent democracy of the parliamentary system implied in the dictatorship of the proletariat, imposed upon society by means of revolutionary mass action.

State Capitalism, through its weakening of parliamentary control and its centralized administrative autocracy, emphasizes the insufficiency of parliamentarism. But yet the proletarian movement cannot reject politics. Paradoxical though it may appear, State Capitalism, while it emphasizes the futility of parliamentarism in and of itself, broadens the scope and necessity of politics. In unifying ruling class interests and imposing a drastic regulation upon industry, State Capitalism makes the state a vital issue of the class struggle in its general aspects. More and more the state concerns itself directly in industrial disputes: the class struggle becomes intensely political. Politics is the field in which all issues of the class struggle are in action. It is not a single issue, but the totality of issues arising out of the antagonisms of bourgeois society that the proletariat must struggle against. It is not through ownership of industry alone that the capitalist maintains his rule; the simple fact of ownership is itself maintained by a large number of means, a large number of issues, social, political, international,—all of which are centralized in State Capitalism. The proletariat must interest itself in all these issues, engage in the parliamentary struggle through which capitalist society as a whole stands forth naked and unshamed.

The parliamentary struggle, waged in a revolutionary spirit and as a phase of the general action of the proletariat, issues a challenge to capitalist supremacy in every issue which insures bourgeois supremacy. It is not through securing better wages and better conditions of labor that the proletariat conquers power, but by weakening Capitalism in all the issues that maintain its ascendancy. Parliamentary action centers attention on all these issues; if revolutionary, parliamentary action realizes the futility, however, of solving these issues through politics alone, and it therefore calls to the struggle the industrial and mass action of the proletariat in class political strikes. This unity of means and action develops class consciousness and class power. By concentrating on all issues that are vital to Capitalism, revolutionary Socialist parliamentarism emphasizes and intensifies the antagonisms between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and in this sense awakens the consciousness and general action of the proletariat. At one moment politics develop into industrial and mass action; at another moment, these develop into politics: the two are inseparable phases of the same dynamic process of class action, each dependent upon and developing the other. Socialist parliamentarism, accordingly, should not be an empty means of protest or a futile means of "democratizing" the state and "growing into" Socialism, but a dynamic phase of proletarian action; and, recognizing its limitations and utility, becomes a supreme method of developing revolutionary and class consciousness ideologically, which is transformed into *class power* by industrial and mass action.

Industrial unionism, in itself, and even if it recognizes and accepts the Socialist parliamentary struggle, has its own limitations. Industrial unionism, in its dogmatic expression, assumes a general organization of the prole-

tariat before Socialism can be established, the construction of a general industrial organization that may seize and operate industry. In terms of infinity, it may be conceivable that some day, some how, the majority of the proletariat, or an overwhelming minority, may become organized into industrial unions under Capitalism. In terms of actual practice, this is inconceivable. The proletariat of unskilled labor, which alone may accept industrial unionism, is a class difficult to organize; its conditions of labor discourage organization and make it move and act under the impulse of mass action. The conditions of Capitalism, its violent upheavals and stress of struggle, exclude the probability of an all-inclusive proletarian organization; moreover, should we hesitate to act until this general organization materializes, Capitalism may turn in on itself and establish a new form of slavery. In its dogmatic expression, industrial unionism has much in common with the parliamentary Socialist conception of the peaceful "growing into" Socialism; it evades the dynamic problems of the Revolution, substituting theory for reality and formula for action. It is fantastic as a general proposition, it is particularly fantastic considering the period of violent upheavals and struggles into which the world is now emerging, to consider that the proletariat under Capitalism can through industrialism organize the structure of the new society. The structure of industrialism, the form of the new Communist society, can be organized only during the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism acting through the dictatorship of the proletariat; all that can be done in the meanwhile is to develop a measure of industrial organization and its ideology of the industrial state, which may constitute the starting point for a proletarian dictatorship in its task of introducing the industrial "state" of Communist Socialism.

The supremacy of the proletariat is determined by its action, and not by its organization. The proletariat acts even where there is no organization, through mass action; organization is a means to action, and not a substitute for action. The function of an organization, in the revolutionary sense, is that it may serve as the centre for action of the unorganized proletarian masses, rally and integrate the general mass action of the proletariat, organizing and directing it for the conquest of power. Socialism hastens the overthrow of Capitalism through revolutionary action. In this sense, parliamentarism and industrial unionism become integral phases of mass action.

Mass action is not a form of action as much as it is a *process and synthesis* of action. It is the unity of all forms of proletarian action, a means of throwing the proletariat, organized and unorganized, in a general struggle against Capitalism and the capitalist state. It is the sharp, definite expression of the revolt of the workers under the impact of the antagonisms and repressions of Capitalism, of the recurring crises and revolutionary situations produced by the violent era of Imperialism. Mass action is the instinctive action of the proletariat, gradually developing more conscious and organized forms and definite purposes. It is extra-parliamentary in method, although political in purpose and result, may develop into and be itself developed by the parliamentary struggle.

Organizations, political and economic, have a tendency to become conservative; a tendency emphasized, moreover, by the fact that they largely represent the more favored groups of workers. These organizations must be swept out of their conservatism by the elemental impact of mass action, function-

ing through organized and unorganized workers acting instinctively under the pressure of events and in disregard of bureaucratic discipline. The great expressions of mass action in recent years, the New Zealand General Strike, the Lawrence strike, the great strike of the British miners under which capitalist society reeled on the verge of collapse,—all were mass actions organized and carried through in spite of the passive and active hostility of the dominant Socialist and labor organization. Under the impulse of mass action, the industrial proletariat senses its own power and acquires the force to act equally against Capitalism and the conservatism of organizations. Indeed, a vital feature of mass action is precisely that it places in the hands of the proletariat the power to overcome the fetters of these organizations, to act in spite of their conservatism, and through proletarian mass action emphasize antagonisms between workers and capitalists, and conquer power. A determining phase of the proletarian revolution in Russia was its acting against the dominant Socialist organization, sweeping these aside through its mass action before it could seize social supremacy. And the great strikes and demonstrations in Germany and Austria during February, 1918, potentially revolutionary in character, were a form of mass action that broke loose against the open opposition of the dominant Socialist and union organizations, and that were crushed by this opposition. *Mass action is the proletariat itself in action*, dispensing with bureaucrats and intellectuals acting through its own initiative; and it is precisely this circumstance that horrifies the soul of petty bourgeois Socialism. The masses are to act upon their own initiative and the impulse of their own struggles; it is the function of the revolutionary Socialist to provide the program and the course for this elemental action, to adapt himself to the new proletarian modes of struggle.

Mass action organizes and develops into the political strike and demonstration, in which a general political issue is the source of the action. Political mass action is determined not by the struggle for wages, but by general issues of prime political importance, in which the proletariat centralizes and integrates its forces, in which organized and unorganized workers may act together in a general struggle against Capitalism. This concentration of forces through mass action is indispensable to the revolutionary struggles to come.

Mass action may consist of a spontaneous strike of organized workers in revolt against the union bureaucracy; or, as is most usually the case, of the strikes and action of unorganized, unskilled workers. These are primitive forms of mass action, although they constitute the genesis of the general mass action which may include workers, organized and unorganized, in various industrial groupings, in a sweeping struggle against Capitalism on general class issues. An important fact, a fact that disposes of the cheap sneers of petty bourgeois Socialism stigmatizing these manifestations as "anarchistic" and "slum proletarian," is that these mass actions are an expression of the industrial proletariat against the centralized industry of dominant Capitalism. The mass that functions through mass action is the industrial proletarian mass, the cohesive action of which may attract other social groups to the general struggle.

As an historic process, mass action is an expression and recognition of the fact that the new era is an era of violent struggles, of an acute crisis of antagonisms, of the impact of the proletariat in a revolutionary situation against Capitalism for the definite revolutionary conquest of power.

Imperialistic State Capitalism, while trying

to and temporarily succeeding in softening antagonisms, actually and fundamentally multiplies the antagonisms and contradictions inherent in Capitalism. These antagonisms assume a violent form, equally between nations, and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This crisis in antagonisms constitutes the social-revolutionary era, in which the proletariat is driven to violent struggles against Capitalism through mass action. The social-revolutionary era finds its expression and its tactic in mass action: this is the great fact of contemporary proletarian development.

The process of revolution consists in a weakening of the class power of the bourgeoisie as against a strengthening of the class power of the proletariat. The class power of the proletariat arises out of the intensity of its struggles and revolutionary energy. It consists, moreover, of undermining the bases of the power and morale of the capitalist state, a process that requires extra-parliamentary activity through mass action. Capitalism trembles when it meets the impact of a strike in a basic industry; Capitalism will more than tremble, it will actually verge on a collapse, when it meets the impact of a general mass action involving a number of correlated industries, and developing into revolutionary mass action against the whole capitalist regime. The value of this mass action is that it shows the proletariat its power, weakens Capitalism, and compels the state largely to depend upon the use of brutal force in the struggle, either the physical force of the military or the force of legal terrorism; this emphasizes antagonisms between proletarian and capitalist, widening the scope and deepening the intensity of the proletarian struggle against Capitalism. General mass action, moreover, a product of the industrial proletariat, will, by the impulse and psychology of events and the emphasizing of antagonisms, draw within the orbit of the struggle workers still under the control of the craft unions. Mass action, being the proletariat itself in action, loosens its energy, develops enthusiasm, and unifies the action of the workers to its utmost measure.

It is this concentration of proletarian forces that makes mass action the method of the proletarian revolution. It is this dynamic quality of mass action that makes it the expression of an era in which the proletariat throws itself in violent struggles against Capitalism. The proletarian revolution is a test of power, a process of forcible struggles, an epoch in which the proletariat requires a flexible method of action, a method of action that will not only concentrate all its available forces, but which will develop its initiative and consciousness, allowing it to seize and use any particular means of struggle in accord with a prevailing situation and necessary under the conditions.

Moreover, mass action means the repudiation of bourgeois democracy. Socialism will come not through the peaceful, democratic parliamentary conquest of the state, but through the determined and revolutionary mass action of a proletarian minority. The fetish of democracy is a fetter upon the proletarian revolution; mass action smashes the fetish, emphasizing that the proletariat recognizes no limits to its action except the limits of its own power. The proletariat will never conquer unless it proceeds to struggle after struggle; its power is developed and its energy let loose only through action. Parliamentarism, in and of itself, fetters proletarian action; organizations are often equally fetters upon action; the proletariat must act and always act; through action it conquers. The great merit and necessity of mass action is

(Continued on page 11)

Official Left Wing News

ALL efforts should now be concentrated on the nomination and election of Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Convention of August 30th. There are practically no States in which the Left Wing would not carry the elections, without expulsions and suspensions. Several of the most important states are now outlawed, or to become outlawed, as State organizations, and these States ought to proceed with their elections as if they were still within the party, using the regular rules and methods. Where the State organization is recognized, expelled and suspended organizations within the State should provide themselves with the regular ballots (printing copies where necessary) and vote for the Left Wing nominees. These votes, added to the others, will show the real vote of the membership of the State and will entitle the Left Wing nominees, if they win on the combined vote, to claim seats as delegates on August 30th. Failing the August 30th Convention, delegates thus elected for Left Wing representation will be ready to take part in the Convention to organize a Communist Party.

If the Left Wing candidates are not nominated under the regular party methods, or if there is a State in which these candidates cannot win at this time by combined vote of regular and suspended or expelled members, it will be necessary to form a provisional Left Wing organization for the purpose of making nominations and balloting for Left Wing delegates (on same ratio of delegates to members as in regular party election, but counting only those branches which affiliate themselves with the Left Wing). These delegates, if elected by a minority of the membership, can have no claim to seats in the party convention, but can act as fraternal delegates and be ready to claim full participation in the Convention to organize a new party, if this becomes the program.

There can be no rule which covers all the varieties of local complications, but the main thing is to get to work at once to work out the problem of bringing together at Chicago, August 30th, a full and fair representation of the party membership as an entirety. Or, to state this in the alternative, if the party convention is called off by the rump N. E. C., or most of the membership is thrown out of the party, the problem is to bring together a proportionate representation of the revolutionary Socialists throughout the country.

There is not a day to lose on this all-important matter. There are only a few weeks between now and the convention.

* * *

THE PARTY EXPULSIONS

Statement issued by instruction of Local Boston,

Socialist Party, in General Membership Meeting assembled, June 29, 1910.

1. We refuse to recognize the expulsion by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the State Organization of Michigan and Massachusetts and the suspension of the Hungarian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, South Slavic, Russian and Ukrainian Federations.

2. We note that the members of the Executive Committee responsible for this action charge that the language federations made plans to vote for a "slate." Such procedure has always been recognized within the Party as a legitimate method of giving effect to majority opinion in elections. As a matter of fact, James Oneal, one of the objectors, was himself elected on a "slate" as State Secretary of Massachusetts a few years ago.

3. Another charge is that five federations issued a statement that they would not assist in the so-called Amnesty Convention called by the National Executive Committee, and even affirmed their opposition to such Convention. The purpose of that Convention was, in our judgment, to use the Socialist Party as an instrument in securing the release of the bourgeois "conscientious objectors" and then to abandon the imprisoned victims of the class struggle. Therefore we declare that the five federations in this matter adhered to the Party pledge, while its National Executive Committee violated the third paragraph of that pledge, which reads as follows: "I am opposed to all political organizations that support and perpetuate the present capitalist profit system, and I am opposed to any form of trading or fusing with any such organizations to prolong that system."

4. The members of the outgoing National Executive Committee who voted to hold up the tabulation of votes upon national membership referendums rendered themselves liable to expulsion from office under Article XIII, Section 4, of the Party Constitution, which reads: "Any officer who attempts to interfere with the processes of the membership shall be expelled from office."

5. The State Organizations of Michigan and Massachusetts were expelled without even the decency of a hearing. Those members of the National Executive Committee who were responsible for this outrage are now straining every nerve to prevent an appeal against their action to a referendum vote of the Party membership. Even in capitalist courts the accused is given a hearing and a trial, with right of appeal if convicted. The guilty members of the National Executive Committee are seeking to deprive the accused comrades of rights such as are granted to Socialists by a hostile capitalist civilization.

Comrades! The Socialist movement of the world is everywhere swinging to the left. Sweep out of your path the handful of fossilized officials who are trying to stop the swing in America!

For Local Boston: Louis E. Henderson, William Goldberg, Leon Golosov, W. T. Colyer—Authorized Committee.

* * *

MASSACHUSETTS EXPELLED

Another State gone. Massachusetts is expelled for adopting the Left Wing program at its State Convention and for refusing to recognize the N. E. C. act of suspending the Federations. For this further offense, Pennsylvania is now threatened with excommunication, and very likely Ohio will meet the same sad fate.

It is a race against time: will there be anything left for the rump N. E. C. to expell by August 30th? Even Milwaukee is slipping. Think of it—Milwaukee! The sanctum of smug petty bourgeois reformism which perverts the name of Socialism for the winning of a few public offices. Yet, in spite of *The Leader* and the Berger cohorts, if all the members of the party were allowed to vote in Milwaukee, its delegates to the Emergency Conference would be Left Wingers.

The party-splitters will succeed only in splitting themselves off from the mass of the membership. But every precaution must be taken to offset this program of destruction by definite alignment of the Left Wing forces.

* * *

OHIO STATE CONVENTION

The most important event in the party history since the National Left Wing Conference was the Ohio Convention of June 27th-28th. This Convention lined up Ohio absolutely in accord with the program and policies of the National Left Wing. The delegates from Ohio to the Emergency Convention of August 30th stand instructed by the State Convention to insist upon the seating of all delegates elected by the votes of all the membership, Ohio itself refusing to recognize the N. E. C. orders of expulsion and giving the vote to all members of the Federations. In case of Right Wing control of the Emergency Convention, by carrying to the final extremity the tactics of bringandage, the Ohio delegation will go into the convention to organize a new party.

I. E. FERGUSON, National Sec'y.

Greater New York News

Schedule of Open-Air Meetings in the 17th A. D.
Monday night—110th St. and 5th Ave.

Speaker: I. A. Goldstein
Tuesday night—106th St. and Madison Ave.

Speaker: Alex. Goldstein
Wednesday night—102d St. and Madison Ave.
Speaker: A. Rykind

MASS MEETING
Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street
FRIDAY JULY 14

New York delegates to Left Wing Convention will report. All comrades invited.
Admission by Party Card only.

LEFT WING EXCURSION
on the Hudson
Saturday, afternoon, July 12
on the
Steamship "Sirius"

Ticket in advance85c.
On day of trip\$1.00

Boat leaves Marget St. Dock at 2:30 p. m. Tickets at: 43 West 29th St., Noxy Mir, 113 E. 10th St., 180 Henry St. and 255 Grand St.
Auspices 1st and 2nd A. D. Left Wing Branches.

The mass meeting scheduled to take place in Manhattan Lyceum last Monday evening had to be postponed at the last minute due to the fact that *The Revolutionary Age* carrying the advertisement did not come out on Thursday as expected, but came out on Monday which made it manifestly impossible to advertise the meeting in time to fill the hall. Rather than have a failure the Executive Secretary called the meeting off and changed it to the following Monday evening at the same place, Manhattan Lyceum.

* * *

The Revolutionary Age will carry local Left Wing activities. Branches should send in the date and address of regular meeting place to Maximilian Cohen, 43 W. 29th St.

Notices as to special activities should be in the office by Tuesday morning every week.
Branch organizers and secretaries should send in the above notices immediately.

* * *

Branches wishing to hold open-air meetings and desiring Left Wing speakers should send in notice a few days ahead in writing, if possible.

* * *

Speakers wishing to be booked in New York City and vicinity should communicate with Maximilian Cohen, Executive Secretary, 43 W. 29th St. stating terms and dates they can fill.

Friday night—Mass Meeting on 110th and 5th Av.
Prominent Speakers

A regular meeting of the Executive Committee of the Branch to be held Wednesday, July 16.

* * *

All New York State communications should be addressed to Edward Lindgen, 350 Halsey St., Brooklyn, the new state secretary of the Left Wing State Committee.

* * *

All Bronx Left Wing Branches are requested to elect delegates to the Left Wing Central Committee of the Bronx on the basis of one delegate to every twenty members or fraction thereof.

Members of the Left Wing of the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 8th Assembly Districts, Bronx, are urged to send their names and addresses to the organizer of the Bronx Left Wing, care of the Executive Secretary of the Left Wing, Locals Greater New York, 43 West 29th Street.

* * *

Those members of the Bronx Picnic Committee who undertook to visit the Branches are requested to send the names of the members elected by the various Branches to this Committee to the Assistant Manager of the Picnic.

Bronx Branch Secretaries should file membership lists immediately with the organizer, R. Blueglass, 740 East 149th Street, Bronx, N. Y.

The National Left Wing Council Needs \$15,000 Now

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America has organized itself as a national unified expression of Revolutionary Socialism. In every industrial centre, the Left Wing is a power.

Its immediate tasks are enormous.

The struggle within the Party must be waged—to conquer the Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International, or organize a new Communist Party.

There is the struggle among the masses—the winning of the broad masses of the workers for

Communist Socialism

Leaflets must be issued, speakers routed, papers published. All this requires money—*At Once*.

The Socialist Party Convention meets August 30. We must carry on an enormous agitation without a moment's delay. Time is pressing and money is an urgent necessity.

Then money is needed immediately for

The Revolutionary Age

—which has become the national organ of the Left Wing. It must treble its circulation within the next two months in order to reach the rank and file of the Party and the masses of the workers with our message. Financially it is in a sound position, but it is not yet covering fully its own expenses. Every addition to its circulation means a reduction of the organization's expenses.

The Left Wing Convention authorized the National Council to issue special emergency stamps to help raise money. This is being done. But the process is slow. *We need the money now.*

We ask all comrades to contribute individually according to their means.

We ask all locals to *immediately donate* money on the basis of the following quotas:

New York (greater city)	\$1,500	Boston, Mass.	200
Chicago, Ill.	1,000	Portland, Ore.	200
Cleveland, Ohio.	1,000	Rochester, N. Y.	200
Detroit, Mich.	500	Toledo, Ohio.	200
Denver, Colo.	300	Los Angeles, Cal.	200
Buffalo, N. Y.	300	St. Paul, Minn.	200
Philadelphia, Pa.	400	Duluth, Minn.	100
Pittsburg, Pa.	300	Minneapolis, Minn.	100
Seattle, Wash.	300	Hartford, Conn.	100
San Francisco, Cal.	300	Providence, R. I.	100

Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU! Upon you—the Left Wing—depends the future of Communist Socialism. Act! Individuals and locals of the Left Wing—*act now.*

I. E. FERGUSON
Secretary, National Council
43 West 29th Street
New York City